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Discrimination: Because I Want to or Because I Have to?

**A comparison between the explanations of
Social Identity Theory and Social Dominance Theory
for intergroup prejudice in South Africa**

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I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Nelson Mandela

Wherever there is human life in society, there is conflict. Societies do not differ in that some have conflicts and others have not; societies and social units differ in the violence and intensity of conflict.

Ralph Dahrendorf

Abstract

This thesis attempts to determine whether the amount of discrimination a person displays is more influenced by stable attitudinal orientations, as implied by the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) construct of Social Dominance Theory, or by the context variables favoured by Social Identity Theory. To this end, three studies were conducted.

The first study was designed to establish whether the standard assessment tool, the SDO₆ scale, is an appropriate measure of SDO in South Africa. It was found that the scale possessed the same general characteristics as in other societies, as assessed using a diverse sample of people from the Cape Town metropolitan region. However, the finding that Black¹ females had a higher desire for inequality between groups than Black males, and that younger subjects desired more inequality than older participants, suggests that cultural aspects have to be taken into consideration when interpreting findings obtained with the SDO₆ scale.

The second and third study employed the scale in order to assess the research question, as stated above. The second study employed an experimental design to determine whether manipulations of group status, stability, and the legitimacy of status differences influences ingroup bias in English speaking students from the University of Cape Town. They completed the SDO₆ scale before and after being exposed to a contrived theory of coping differences between English and Afrikaans speakers. As the manipulations of stability and legitimacy were unsuccessful only the influence of status and SDO on discrimination could be tested. High status group members described themselves their own group as more competent than the group of Afrikaans speakers, and also contributed greater coping ability to English speakers than to Afrikaans speakers. Differences in SDO levels were not reflected in the amount of ingroup bias expressed.

The third study investigated the influence of SDO, group status, stability and legitimacy on race-based discrimination by analysing survey data collected from a large and diverse sample from the Cape Town metropolitan region. This study differed from previous SDT research, which focused on societies with stable societies, by investigating the applicability of the concept of SDO in a society which has been recognised as undergoing socioeconomic and political change. The results obtained support SDT's assumption that stratification systems are rather persistent to change. Black, Coloured and White participants still see the historically dominant White South African group as dominant and the Black South African group as the most subordinate group. The participants expected this hierarchy to remain stable over the next five years. Black

participants were the most in favour of inequality between race groups, despite SDT's prediction that the most subordinate group would have the lowest SDO levels. In contrast to the finding in Study 2, a higher SDO level was related to more favouritism for a person's own group. The effect of SDO was moderated by perceptions of the own group's relative status and the perceived legitimacy of the stratification system. The socio-structural variables by themselves did not contribute to the explanation of individual differences in discrimination.

It is concluded that under some conditions, SIT's socio-structural variables are better able to explain why people discriminate and in others SDT's concept of SDO has more value. In other words, SDO is not as general as postulated by social dominance theorists. Further research on the influence of the salience of group distinctions and cultural factors in general on the desire to establish and maintain social hierarchies is required.

¹ In this thesis, "White" refers to South Africans of European descent, "Blacks" to South Africans of African descent and "Coloureds" to South Africans of mixed descent

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Looking back at the time I first arrived at the University of Cape Town (UCT), I realise how naïve I was. I had no idea about just how challenging it would be to conduct research in a society, which I only knew from readings. Based on my experiences, I am now confident to state that reading about a society does not lead to understanding. A country and its culture can only be truly understood if one becomes part of it. Luckily, I did not know about this back then. If I had, I might never have embarked on this endeavour, which was made even more challenging by having to work and write in a language, which for more than 20 years I had never spoken outside a school building. All in all, it was a great learning experience, which I do not want to have missed. What made it so special is that there were so many who helped to facilitate it. To all of them belong my heartfelt thanks.

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If they can get you asking the wrong questions, they don't have to worry about the answers.

Thomas Pychon (1972; p. 251; in Reicher, in press)

1 Introduction

Thomas Pychon's quote points to the importance of finding the right question in order to obtain meaningful answers. It is for this reason that the starting point to each research process should be to determine a question's appropriateness. When conducting research on oppression or, more generally, on discriminative behaviour of different groups against one another, a multitude of different research questions can arise. For instance, one researcher might raise the question whether oppression is inevitable. Another researcher could take a different approach and ask about the circumstances under which oppression occurs.

The first question has been chosen by the social psychologists Sidanius and Pratto (1993a). In their chapter "The Inevitability of Oppression and the Dynamics of Social Dominance" they set out to investigate whether multi-ethnic societies can be other than oppressive. Their research revealed that some societies are described as cultural melting-pot, in which ethnic group membership is replaced by an all-encompassing national identity. Others are perceived as ethnic pluralistic societies, in which members of all ethnic groups live peacefully together as members of their respective ethnic groups. Sidanius and Pratto conclude that both of these views only hold true to some extent. In their complete form they will remain an ideal, since ultimately all multi-ethnic societies are hierarchically structured, with different ethnicities enjoying varying degrees of status – and sometimes rights. This conclusion lets assume that oppression is in fact inevitable.

When adopting this view, the question, under which circumstances oppression occurs, becomes secondary. Rather, it would be relevant to first ask what it is about oppression that makes it unavoidable. This would probably provide a very different answer as the question regarding the circumstances of oppression. Research into the underlying circumstances of oppression might focus on the nature of the intergroup context. This can include factors such as whether groups are in a competitive or cooperative relationship, how stable and legitimate status differences between groups are perceived as, and whether individuals perceive a threat to their group's status. Research based on the claim of the inevitability of oppression might focus on the inherent qualities of people. Questions regarding the circumstances might thus lead to answers suggesting that the social environment and/or perceptions about this environment determine whether members of one group oppress members of other groups. Questions which assume that

oppression is inevitable would rather produce answers suggesting that something within a person makes oppression such a persistent phenomenon. In other words, the choice of question determines the answer we get.

This is particularly true of the social sciences in which the specific ideological, historical and social circumstances in which a question is formulated determine the question which is asked and hence the answer obtained. A question's value then depends on whether one believes in the worldview which produced it.

In order to determine whether it is worthwhile to pursue a question it is also - and maybe even more - important to consider what implications the question might have. To ask why oppression is inevitable, for instance, implies a far more negative worldview than to ask about its circumstances. If it is assumed that people only discriminate in some situations, a world free of oppression is a possibility. If, on the other hand, it is assumed that oppression is inevitable there is the danger of implicitly justifying oppression. In fact, Pratto (1999) herself states that the observation that oppression occurs everywhere "seem[s] to justify and even naturalize oppression" (p. 251). This is exactly the danger that Reicher (in press) has in mind when he states that the problem of assuming inevitability of oppression is not that it is true, but that it might become true (see also Jost, Burgess & Mosso, 2001). This puts researchers in a dilemma. Should we ask questions regarding oppression which run the risk of condoning it? Those whose answer is "yes" would argue that it is necessary to acknowledge the true origins of discrimination instead of denying its causes. Only once the causes are known, strategies to counteract it can be effectively developed and employed. This is an important notion, as Sidanius and Pratto (1999) specifically highlight that they do not mean to say that although true equality will never be achieved it is not worthwhile striving for. Sidanius and Veniegas (2000) take this argument a step further by stating that the reason ethnic and gender discrimination still exist is exactly because the dynamics of oppression have not yet been sufficiently understood. They argue that in order to attenuate and to control discrimination it is crucial to understand the underlying processes.

This debate highlights that there are pros and cons for either perspective. Yet, whatever stand is taken, the fact is that oppression and discrimination do exist in today's world. There is thus no doubt that questions about discrimination have to be asked if there is an interest to eliminate the phenomenon. A way to test whether it is more appropriate to ask why oppression is omnipresent or what the circumstances of oppression are is to pit the two questions against each other. It is thereby possible to investigate whether discrimination (which can lead to oppression) is inherent to a person or caused by the social context. By asking "Do I discriminate because 'I

have to' or because 'I want to'?" this thesis follows the proposed suggestion. It compares two social-psychological approaches, which each stand for one of the two questions. Social Dominance Theory (SDT) assumes that oppression is inevitable, whereas Social Identity Theory (SIT) emphasises the importance of the nature of the intergroup relations as determinant of the circumstances under which oppression occurs. In particular, SIT's and SDT's predictions about the extent of discrimination shown by individuals are tested in studies that simultaneously assess variables that are classified as important determinants of discrimination by either of the theories. Based on previous research results it is assumed that an interaction between socio-structural variables and inherent individual characteristics can account better for the data than either approach alone.

The research takes place in South Africa, a society which is characterised by change. After the abolishment of state-controlled and sanctioned racial oppression, its racial stratification system is currently undergoing transformation. Extensive research testing SIT's and SDT's assumptions has already taken place in experimental settings and in field studies in societies in which the status hierarchy of groups is rather stable. The question of how well both theories can be combined to explain discrimination in a society with an uncertain group stratification system has not been investigated yet.

In order to address the research question, three studies have been conducted. Before they are presented, the theories of social identity and social dominance and their respective criticisms are outlined in Chapter 2. The chapter also contrasts the theories and presents studies, which have combined both approaches. Since only three studies that use SDT's concepts in South African samples have been published thus far, the first study in this thesis examines whether the scale that is most commonly used to assess SDO is adequate in the South African society. It is described in Chapter 3. The second study, presented in Chapter 4, investigates the research question in an experiment, whereas Study 3 (Chapter 5) focuses on racial discrimination by analysing survey data. The last chapter of this thesis, Chapter 6, includes a general discussion of the results, in which the findings of the experiment and the survey study are compared and the meaning of SDT's individual characteristic variable is discussed. The discussion ends with a general conclusion.

2 Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of the two theories that form the basis of this thesis, Social Identity and Social Dominance Theory. Each theory and its related research are first described, followed by an outline of the criticism that each approach has been subjected to. The subsequent section compares Social Identity and Social Dominance Theory. The literature review ends with an introduction to the research question. Literature of importance for each of the three studies conducted will be presented in the introduction to each individual study.

2.1 Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory (SIT) was developed at the University of Bristol by Henry Tajfel and John C. Turner. Since its first publications in the 1970s, the theory has triggered a vast amount of research to the point that one can rightly speak of a number of SIT version. Rubin and Hewstone (in press) even suggest that the number of its different forms comes close to the number of social identity researchers. SIT provided a framework which is flexible enough to allow different researchers to develop their own interpretations of it. In most of these, SIT has been employed in order to explain discrimination between groups. Yet, SIT's original focus was more specific. It set out to identify the circumstances under which oppressed groups or groups with low status would seize the opportunity to induce social change or resistance (Reicher, in press).

The following sections provide an overview of the SIT approach and related research conducted over the past 30 years. Particular emphasis is put on SIT's original assumptions. To begin with, the research procedure that is generally seen as SIT's foundation, the minimal group paradigm is described. The various elements of SIT are then outlined and an overview of the criticism of SIT is provided. A brief conclusion ends the sections on SIT.

2.1.1 SIT's Origins: The Minimal Group Paradigm

As early as 1969, Rabbie and Horwitz attempted to identify the minimal conditions necessary to evoke intergroup discrimination. To this purpose, they constructed four different conditions. The first of these tested whether the simple categorisation of individuals into one of two groups would lead to discrimination. In the second condition, the members of one group were promised rewards for their participation, whereas the other group was told they would receive nothing.

Chance decided which of the two groups would be given the prize. The third condition was equivalent to the second, the only difference being that the experimenter decided which of the groups to allocate the rewards to. In the final condition the reward allocation was ostensibly based on one group's vote.

The results revealed that in all but in the first, mere categorisation, condition participants evaluated members of their own group (the ingroup) more positively than members of the other group (the outgroup). That is, group membership by itself did not seem sufficient to trigger differential treatment of ingroup- and outgroup members.

A year later, Tajfel (1970) provided evidence that Rabbie and Horwitz' conclusion had been incorrect. Together with Flament, Bundy and Billig he conducted a series of studies, which showed that even the mere categorisation into groups led participants to show intergroup discrimination (see also Tajfel, Flament, Billig & Bundy, 1971). That is, intergroup discrimination defined as the differential treatment of in- and outgroup can occur even when there is minimal ingroup attachment, anonymity of group membership, absence of conflict of interest, and no previous aggression between the groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Unlike Rabbie and Horwitz, Tajfel (1970) had not asked his participants to evaluate ingroup and outgroup members individually. Instead, each participant was required to distribute resources to pairs of one ingroup and one outgroup member. That is, participants were allowed to determine themselves if an ingroup member as compared to an outgroup member would be rewarded or deprived – or be treated equally. No participant was able to gain personally from allocating resources. Under such conditions, participants did favour members of their own group over outgroup members, even if the only information they had received about the groups was their group's name and that they belonged to the one group and not to the other.

The particular experimental method employed in these experiments has become known as 'minimal group paradigm' (MGP). The groups are referred to as *minimal* since they are only created in and for the experimental situation and are thus purely cognitive. Group categorisations are always random and just ostensibly based on a criterion in order to enhance credibility for the research participants.

For Tajfel himself the result that participants preferred their own group in the MGP was unexpected. By creating a minimal intergroup situation he had intended to establish a condition that provided so little information about the groups that no discrimination would occur. This scenario was meant to be used as baseline of no intergroup behaviour. Tajfel's aim was to then investigate what information would have to be added in order to evoke social discrimination

(Turner, 1996) When it emerged that even this minimal intergroup situation led people to discriminate, Tajfel and his colleagues were left without explanation. A new theory of intergroup behaviour was needed. At first, the effects of the MGP were explained by the assumption of a generic norm for discrimination, which is so pervasive in society that it is even employed in a situation that provides as little information about the groups as the MGP. However, this explanation was quickly discarded since it seemed to be circular. This gave way to the development of SIT (Brown, Tajfel & Turner, 1980).

2.1.2 SIT: An Overview

The differential resource allocation in the MGP was finally explained in terms of a person's need for a positive self-concept. A positive self-concept can originate from positive group-evaluations. Since the MGP provides no information about what it means to be a member of either of the two groups, discrimination is the only means to achieve a positive self-evaluation (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1985; 1987). Support for this assumption was provided by Oakes and Turner (1980) who found that participants that discriminated in a MGP had a higher self-esteem than those that showed no discrimination. These initial considerations were elaborated on and eventually led to the formal and more general conceptualisation of SIT, which assumes that intergroup discrimination is based on three different processes (Turner & Brown, 1978):

1. *Social categorisation*

People not only perceive themselves and others as individuals and separate entities, but also categorise their social world into groups. This serves to order the social environment by classifying and segmenting it. It also allows people to take action and to place themselves in society.

2. *Social comparison*

Individuals always compare their own group to other relevant groups. This process enables them to evaluate their group by determining its relative value and status in terms of relevant and valued characteristics and behaviour, such as wealth, skin colour, power and abilities. Social comparisons give a person an idea of how similar etc. the person is in relation to members of other social groups.

3. *Social identity*

The outcomes of social comparison processes provide individuals with a specific social identity. This social identity is either positive or negative depending on whether the own group is perceived as having more or less status than relevant comparison groups. If a group membership cannot provide a positive social identity, individuals will strive to leave

their group or to find more favourable group comparisons. In general, there is social consensus about the meaning and value attached to specific group memberships.

2.1.3 SIT's Elements

SIT assumes that specific variables that need to be considered when trying to explain intergroup discrimination influence the nature of - or are influenced by - the social categorisation, social comparison and social identity processes outlined above. Firstly, the intergroup context is of importance. It suggests which categories individuals should use to position themselves and their surrounding. It renders specific group memberships salient. Secondly, social comparison processes shape a person's perceptions of their group's relative value/status. Together with the intergroup context they also provide information relating to the stability and legitimacy of the status differences between groups. This, in turn, determines the extent to which individuals identify with their group. If a group membership is important to a person, that is if the person identifies with the group, this group membership leads to a positive or negative social identity, depending on the perceptions of status, stability and legitimacy. In some situations, intergroup discrimination can be used as a means to increase a person's positive social identity. A schematic overview of SIT's elements is given in Figure 2-1.

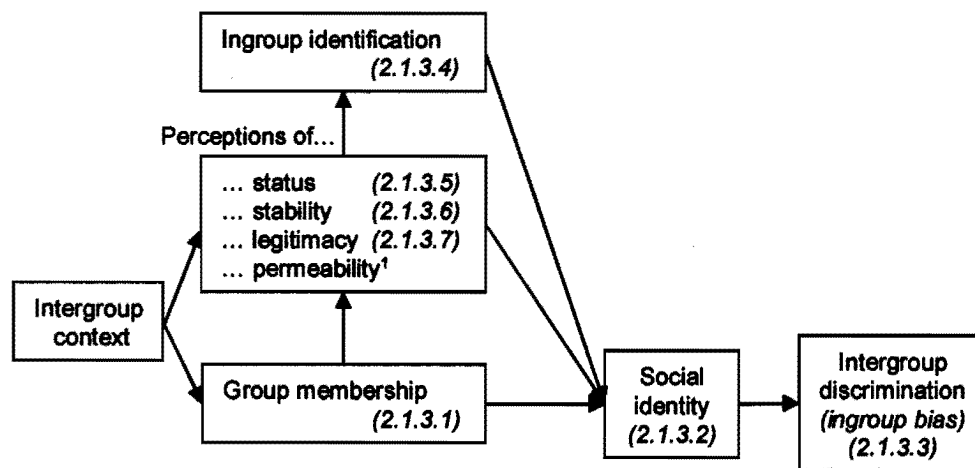


Figure 2-1: Schematic overview of SIT

[Numbers in brackets indicate the section in the literature review describing the element]

¹ Although research has proven the importance of the permeability of group boundaries for the explanation of intergroup behaviour, it will not be focused on in this thesis, since it is not relevant to the conducted research. A review of the impact of permeability can be found in Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton and Hume (2001)

The following sections describe each of these elements and their interaction.

2.1.3.1 Group membership

When discussing group membership what constitutes a social group and how a person comes to know that this person is a member of a specific group needs to be established.

Turner (1982) describes a social group as “two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves or, which is nearly the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category” (p. 15). The MGP has shown that people are group members simply if they see themselves as members of a specific group and are also perceived in that way by others (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In SIT it is therefore assumed that perceptions and cognitions form the basis of psychological group membership. The way individuals perceive their world determines what social categories they use to locate themselves and others. The categories are then internalised and become part of the individual's self-concept. Cognitive processes linked to these specific parts of the self-concept shape group behaviour. That is, group membership is not primarily determined by how persons feel about other individuals belonging to a group but by how these persons perceive themselves (Turner, 1982).

Researchers have sometimes made the mistake of directly transferring the results of the MGP to the real world. This is problematic, since the real world obviously contains far more variables than the MGP setting. Group categorisations in the MGP are set; groups and group differences are defined through very limited characteristics. In the real world, groups and what defines them are less clear. People do not only belong to one, but to various groups. The same person can perceive someone as belonging to a specific group in one situation and as member of a different group in another context and thus change his or her perception of and behaviour towards that person. Furthermore, different people might have different understandings of group memberships in categories such as race or gender. It is thus important to investigate what people mean when they talk about specific group memberships and in which circumstances they are likely to categorise people as members of to the one group or another (Reicher, in press).

2.1.3.2 Social identity

As outlined in section 2.1.2, memberships in groups provide people with a specific social identity. Over the years, various and often inconsistent definitions of social identity have been proposed (Jackson, 1999; Jackson & Smith, 1999). In this thesis, Turner's view of social identity as one of the two structures of the self-concept is adopted (Turner, 1982). He describes the self-concept as a rather stable, multi-faceted entity, which is made up of two structures that form the

extremes of one dimension. The one is an individual's personal identity, which consists of personal characteristics. The other is the person's social identity. SIT is only concerned with the social identity part of the self-concept. It is "the individual's knowledge that he [sic] belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of group membership" (Tajfel, 1972; p. 31) or all "those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from the social categories to which he perceives himself as belonging" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; p. 40). The interplay of the two parts of the self-concept produces a person's self-images. These can vary from situation to situation depending on how and which components of the self-concept interact. This means that at times social identity determines behaviour more whereas in other situations personal identity is more relevant. The self-concept mediates the relationship between environmental stimuli and behaviour. While a person processes the information provided by the environment, specific parts of the self-concept are elicited and prescribe the appropriate behaviour. Situations that trigger the social part of the self-concept evoke different behaviour than situations in which the personal identity is salient. Generally speaking, the personal identity determines interpersonal behaviour, the social identity intra- and intergroup behaviour (Tajfel, 1978).

2.1.3.3 Ingroup bias

The specific form of intergroup discrimination in which people allocate more resources to their own group than to a group they do not belong to is called 'ingroup bias' or 'ingroup favouritism'. Both terms will be used interchangeably in this thesis. Tajfel and Turner (1979; p. 38) describe ingroup favouritism as "the laboratory analogue of real-world ethnocentrism, [...] that is the tendency to favor the in-group over the out-group in evaluation and behavior". The term 'bias' implies that the differentiation between ingroup and outgroup is unfair to the extent that it is not based on objective criteria (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002). Ingroup bias will only be shown if the comparison group is accepted as a reference group (Turner, 1982). If that is the case, ingroup bias is present at very early ages. Yee and Brown (1992) found it even in their sample of three year olds.

SIT assumes that ingroup bias emerges from the need to achieve a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Whether this proposed causal relationship is true is difficult to ascertain. An indirect test of this assumption would be to investigate the relationship between ingroup favouritism and self-esteem. If the need for positive social identity triggers ingroup favouritism, participants who show ingroup bias should have a positive social identity, expressed in high

levels of self-esteem. Their self-esteem should be higher after they were able to discriminate than before. Lemyre and Smith (1985) found this to be the case. Individuals that had been classified into minimal groups had higher self-esteem scores after they were allowed to show intergroup discrimination than individuals whose self-esteem was assessed before they had had the opportunity to discriminate. However, the authors also found that the self-esteem assessed after group categorisation, but before the opportunity for intergroup discrimination had been given, was lower than self-esteem scores before the categorisation into groups. They interpret this result with the assumption that the mere categorisation into groups induces a threat to one's self-esteem. The self-esteem can be restored by intergroup discrimination.

In theory, ingroup bias is spawned by a favourable evaluation of the ingroup (in order to preserve ingroup cohesion), a devaluation of the outgroup (in order to legitimise its oppression) or by a combination of both (Brewer, 1979). Most research indicates that it is in fact due to a comparatively more positive evaluation of the ingroup rather than caused by outgroup derogation (Brewer, 1979, 1993, 1999; Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Brown, 1988; Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Levin, Henry, Pratto & Sidanius, 2003; Levin & Sidanius, 1999; Otten & Wentura, 1999; Struch & Schwartz, 1989). This corresponds to Allport's view (1954), according to which ingroup preference precedes the development of outgroup attitudes. The idea is also supported by Brewer (1999) who found that discriminatory behaviour is often motivated by the desire to maintain positive relationships within the own group. At the same time, this desire predisposes people to distrust those that do not belong to the ingroup and thus prepares the stage for outgroup hostility. Such hostility is often shown when people experience a threat to their own social identity (Cadinu & Reggiori, 2002; Doosje & Branscombe, 2003; Hewstone et al., 2002; Otten, Mummendey & Blanz, 1996; Wagner, Lampen & Syllwasschy, 1986).

It needs to be emphasised that people do not always discriminate against other groups. It is for this reason that Branthwaite and Jones (1975, see also Branthwaite, Doyle & Lightbown, 1979) argue that there is as much a norm for equality as there is for discrimination. Approximately one third of their participants distributed resources equally when they were given the chance, whereas less than one third chose the most discriminatory strategy. However, Turner (1980) does not agree with this argument. He asserts that an equal evaluation of groups is nothing but the midpoint on a continuum that reaches from ingroup to outgroup favouritism.

Influences on ingroup bias

When Branthwaite and Jones stressed in 1975 that individuals do not always express discriminatory behaviour, it was still unclear what influences determine whether ingroup bias is

shown. In subsequent years, research identified various relevant variables. In Mullen, Brown and Smith's (1992) meta-analysis the following factors emerged:

1. *Salience of the intergroup context*

Ingroup bias is stronger when the relevant intergroup context is salient. This was concluded from the findings that ingroup bias was strongest among real groups as opposed to artificial groups and among small groups. Brewer (1979) also emphasised the importance of the salience of the intergroup context based on the finding that intergroup similarity, intergroup competition and status differentials have an influence on ingroup bias.

2. *Group status*

Members of high status groups show more ingroup favouritism than members of low status groups (see also Brewer, 1979; Turner, 1999 and section 2.1.3.5).

3. *Nature of the groups (real versus artificial)*

More ingroup bias is shown in real than in artificial groups.

4. *Relevance of the dimension of comparison*

The more relevant the dimension of comparison, the more ingroup bias is displayed (see also Brewer, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1999).

In addition, the type of dependent measure that is employed plays a role. Brewer and Silver (1978) found that people do not always simultaneously discriminate on evaluative ratings as well as on resource allocation tasks. This is only the case when there is competition for rewards between the groups or when rewards are distributed to each group individually. When there is cooperative interdependence between the groups, the differences in allocated resources cease to occur. Ingroup bias remains in the evaluative trait ratings.

Apart from a group's status, other socio-structural variables, such as the perceived legitimacy and stability of the group stratification system as well as the extent of ingroup identification influence if and how much ingroup bias is expressed. Since the research in this thesis specifically focuses on these variables, they will each be elaborated on in the following sections.

2.1.3.4 Ingroup identification

Definition

Turner (1978) highlights that social categorisation by itself is not sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination. He states that a certain degree of identification with a group is always a prerequisite for people to be willing to discriminate. There is however great variation in how

ingroup identification is defined. It is sometimes seen as a personality variable and sometimes as evoked by the specific intergroup relations (Hewstone et al., 2002). In this thesis, identification is understood in compliance with Turner's view as the tendency to perceive oneself as a group member or, put differently, as the tendency to build group membership into one's self-concept (Turner, 1982). It is assumed that a person's identification with a specific group is not static. The social and historical context both play a role in determining if, to what extent and with what groups an individual identifies. Once a person identifies with a group the behaviour, norms and values that are associated with the specific identity are displayed by that person – with the nature of the social context serving as mediator (Reicher, in press). The extent to which an individual endorses the norm behaviour and attitudes of a group depends on how much this person identifies with the group (Guimond, 2000).

Ingroup identification and ingroup bias

In minimal groups, in which participants are required to evaluate ingroups and outgroups immediately after having been categorised, group members do probably not identify strongly with their group. Therefore, the influence of ingroup identification on group evaluations in such a setting should be rather low. In real groups, however, identification with the group can play a crucial role in determining intergroup behaviour. Here, stronger ingroup identification usually relates to more intergroup discrimination (e.g. Perreault & Bourhis, 1999).

Yet, research has not always found a relationship between ingroup identification and ingroup bias (e.g. Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade & Williams, 1986). Hewstone et al. (2002) specify that whereas experimental studies have rather unequivocally shown that bias can be enhanced by identification manipulations, the relationship between identification and intergroup relations is less clear cut in correlational analyses. Messick and Mackie (1989) assume that this is due to the fact that extraneous variables, such as the salience of group membership and the security of ingroup identity, moderate the relationship between ingroup identification and ingroup bias. Although no consistent results have been found with regards to the influence of group salience, Turner (1999) also refers to this factor. He argues that SIT itself has never stated a direct link between ingroup identification and ingroup bias. Rather, he claims, ingroup identification, group salience, the relevance of the comparative dimension and the perceived nature of the intergroup relations together influence whether ingroup bias will be shown. The influence of the nature of the intergroup situation will be outlined in the following three sections on group status and the perceived stability and legitimacy of the status system.

2.1.3.5 Group status

From the beginning of the 1970s to the end of that decade, SIT's face has changed. Initially, it had focused on explaining discrimination through social cognitive processes, especially through categorisation mechanisms. Towards the end of the 1970s, the introduction of additional relevant variables such as group status and the perceived legitimacy and stability of the status structure extended the theory to further levels of analysis (Foster, 1991). This section describes the influence of status differences on intergroup relations. Unlike power or wealth, status is not regarded as a resource but as the outcome of intergroup comparisons (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). High status groups are those groups that compare favourably on valued dimensions such as educational achievement, wealth, speech styles or occupational status (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Status and social identity

High status groups usually compare favourably with groups of lower status. They can therefore gain a positive social identity from group comparisons. It is for this reason that high status groups are interested in maintaining the status hierarchy. For low status groups, intergroup comparisons almost always result in a negative social identity, as they will in most cases not be able to compare favourably with other groups (for exceptions see Richman, Clark & Brown, 1985; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972; Simmons, Brown, Bush & Blyth, 1978; Verkuyten, 1990). Low status groups will then have to resort to means other than intergroup discrimination in order to still achieve a positive social identity, for instance by attempting to change the hierarchical group structure. Since high status groups want the group hierarchy to remain and low status groups desire it to change, the existence of status differences always holds the potential for intergroup conflict (Bettencourt & Bartholow, 1998). Whether a low status group will be able to achieve a positive social identity depends on whether cognitive alternatives to the current stratification system are available. Cognitive alternatives are perceptions that different forms of status relationships are possible (de la Rey, 1991). SIT specifies three different types of cognitive alternatives (Reicher, in press; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner & Brown, 1978):

1. Social Mobility

If possible a person with a negative social identity, that is from a low status group, will try to leave this group. It is important to note that social mobility is an individualistic strategy since it does not lead to a change in status for the group itself.

2. Social Creativity

Social creativity is a group strategy, in which the low status group attempts to find ways to make group comparisons more favourable. This can be done by creating new dimensions

on which the own group compares favourably to a group with higher status. Alternatively, groups can keep the existing dimension of comparison, but change its value. An example for this strategy is the Black consciousness movement. Skin colour remained as the dimension of comparison, but its value changed from negative to positive (*Black is beautiful*). Lastly, low status groups can resort to comparing themselves to other groups that are equally low or even lower in status than the own group and refrain from comparing their group to a higher status group.

Skevington (1981) describes an additional strategy of social change. She argues that in some intergroup contexts it might be possible for low status groups to adopt positive characteristics of the high status group in an attempt to render themselves as similar to the high status group as possible. This process could ultimately lead to a merger of high and low status groups. In order to maintain the status structure, high status groups might attempt to increase the differences between their own and a low status group in such instances (Seta & Seta, 1992). For high status groups, ingroup bias is then related to exploitation, for low status groups it is indicative of resistance against the stratification system. It could be a rather healthy sign in that its absence might mean that the group has internalised its ostensible inferiority (Spears, Jetten & Doosje, 2001). Research seems to support the assumption that low status groups attempt to assimilate whereas high status groups strive for increased differentiation (e.g. Kahn & Ryen, 1972; Wilson & Miller, 1961; Wright, Taylor & Moghaddam, 1990). This indicates that too little difference in status between groups can also have negative implications. If groups become too similar their need for distinctiveness might come to the forefront, especially for groups in high status positions. They then try to distinguish themselves from other groups by showing increased intergroup discrimination (Brown & Abrams, 1986).

3. Social Competition

Low status groups might try to challenge the stratification system by attempting to reverse the hierarchical order.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) stress, that not all alternatives are equally desirable. If individuals have the opportunity to leave their low status group in order to join the high status group because group boundaries are permeable, this strategy will be the preferred approach (see also van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993; Reicher, in press). Low status group members then start to identify less and less with their own group (van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993). If group boundaries are impermeable, that is if no social mobility is possible, social creativity or social change are the only cognitive alternatives available. Which alternatives exist and what intergroup behaviour is appropriate is generally dictated by a socially shared belief system (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Status and ingroup bias

SIT originally assumed that due to their low status, it is difficult for low status group members to satisfy their need for a positive social identity. In an attempt to heighten their threatened social identity, they should search for ways to derogate the high status group, resulting in particularly high ingroup bias (Mullen et al., 1992; Turner & Brown, 1978). Ingroup bias can also be a process of *becoming* for low status groups (Spears et al., 2001). It can have a mobilising function in that it can lead groups of low status to resist the status hierarchy, to realise alternative realities or to create the perception of the possibility to strive for an alternative stratification system. Some research has indeed found that low status groups discriminate more than high status groups (e.g. Blanz, Mummendey & Otten, 1995; Branthwaite & Jones, 1975; Branthwaite et al., 1979; Finchilescu, 1986; Maass, Ceccarelli & Rudin, 1996; Mummendey et al. 1992; Otten et al., 1996; Ruttenberg, Zea & Siegelman, 1996).

However, in contrast, Turner and Brown (1978) found that under some circumstances high status groups are more discriminative (see also e.g. Brown & Wade, 1987; Commins & Lockwood, 1979; Doise & Sinclair, 1973; Ellemers, Doosje, van Knippenberg & Wilke, 1992; Ellemers, van Knippenberg, de Vries & Wilke, 1988; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987; 1991). They accounted for this result by arguing that if status differences are perceived as legitimate by both high and low status groups then the group's superiority versus inferiority is reflected in both groups' behaviour. That is, under those circumstances, low status groups might not only show less ingroup bias than high status groups, but even show outgroup favouritism (Bettencourt & Bartholow, 1998). This outgroup favouritism could either indicate an internalisation of the low status position (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1991) or serve a completely different purpose, as van Knippenberg and van Oers (1984) argue. They revealed that low status groups evaluate the outgroup particularly favourably on dimensions that have to do with socioeconomic success, such as status and income. It might be possible that outgroup favouritism is perceived as a strategy to achieve equity between groups.

In conclusion, there are thus contradictory findings about the nature of the relationship between status and ingroup bias, with some studies even finding no relationship at all (e.g. Ng, 1985). The most common finding is that high status groups express more ingroup favouritism than low status groups (Bettencourt et al., 2001; Mullen et al., 1992). Sachdev and Bourhis (1991) argue that high status groups have as much reason to express ingroup favouritism as low status groups. According to them and in line with SIT, low status groups might discriminate in order to achieve

a positive social identity. High status groups on the other hand discriminate in an attempt to maintain their social identity.

Research has also succeeded in refining the relationship between status and ingroup bias by taking additional variables into consideration. In their meta-analysis, Mullen et al. (1992) for instance found that in experimental settings groups with higher status expressed more ingroup bias. In real groups however, the opposite trend was observed. This could be due to the fact that with the minimal information that is given about group membership in an experimental setting participants internalise the feedback they get about being worse than the comparison group. That is why they respond accordingly (Cadinu & Reggiori, 2002). Bettencourt et al. (2001) were able to replicate Mullen et al.'s results. However, they found that in studies where participants were asked for direct comparisons of in- and outgroups there was no difference between artificial and real situations. They also report that socio-structural variables, especially the perceived legitimacy of the status system (see section 2.1.3.7), are more important than the reality of the group status.

Mullen et al. (1992) argue that the common finding that ingroup bias is usually more pronounced in high status groups than in low status groups might also be due to the fact that studies often solely focused on attributes that were of particularly high relevance to the high status group. Yet, on status irrelevant dimensions low status group members prefer their own group (Reichl, 1997). Lalonde (1992) for instance conducted research that revealed that a losing hockey team acknowledged the winning team's superiority on the dimension that determined the group's high status. At the same time, it also attempted to regain its positive social identity by derogating the outgroup on other dimensions of comparison. Tajfel (1974) calls this phenomenon *compensatory bias*. It means that low status groups compensate for unfavourable comparisons on one dimension by favouring the ingroup on other dimensions.

Equally so, it has been found that high status group members displayed more ingroup favouritism in those studies that used task specific conceptualisations of status (Mullen et al., 1992). Petersen and Blank (2003) argue that it is by no means surprising that a positive relationship between ingroup bias and status occurs when the ingroup rating is taking place on exactly the same dimension on which the group's status has been manipulated. The correlation then simply reflects that the participants have understood the experimental setup. On dimensions that are not related to the status structure low status groups express even more ingroup bias than high status groups. This could be seen as the result of an attempt to gain

positive social identity by means of social creativity (e.g. Jackson, Harnish & Hodge, 1996; Mullen et al., 1992; Poppe & Linssen, 1999).

2.1.3.6 Stability

Definition

If an intergroup system is regarded as stable groups see no possibility that their status could be changed (Turner & Brown, 1978). For low status groups this means that they perceive no opportunities to gain higher status and thus to enhance their social identity. In contrast, in unstable group relationships, low status groups can enhance their identity by attempting to reach higher status positions, since unstable group relationships are characterised by the potential for change in the status system.

Stability, status and ingroup bias

Sidanius, Pratto and Rabinowitz (1994) argue that the higher ingroup favouritism that occurs with high group status is particularly apparent when the status structure is stable (and legitimate) (Brown, 1978; Clark & Clark, 1947; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1985; Skevington, 1981; van Knippenberg & van Oers, 1984). This is supported by Bettencourt et al.'s (2001) meta-analysis. Bettencourt et al. found that when status differences were perceived as stable, high status groups evaluated their own group as more favourable than low status groups. When status differences were unstable, no such difference emerged.

It would seem that perceptions of stability and legitimacy go hand in hand. An unstable social system will tend to be seen as illegitimate. A system that is regarded as illegitimate on the other hand will most likely soon be perceived as unstable (Tajfel, 1974). This is illustrated in Bettencourt et al.'s (2001) meta-analysis, where legitimacy and stability were highly correlated. This might be the reason why many researchers have only looked at the influence of either stability or legitimacy on intergroup behaviour. However, despite their close link, both variables also have differential effects. For instance, Turner and Brown (1978) have shown that legitimacy and stability do not need to be directly related, even though sooner or later the one will lead to the other. Skevington (1980) goes so far as to argue that instability only occurs once the intergroup context is perceived as illegitimate by the low status group. And Federico (1998) describes situations in which status relationships are perceived as stable, but people do not believe in the efficacy of strategies that could provoke social change, even though they see the status system as illegitimate. He concludes that stability has a more profound effect on behaviour

than legitimacy. In support of this view, Bettencourt et al.'s (2001) meta-analysis provided no effect size for conditions in which group boundaries were impermeable and the intergroup situation illegitimate but stable, indicating that an intergroup situation might only be perceived as illegitimate once it is seen as unstable.

Findings on the influence of legitimacy on intergroup discrimination and the joint effects of stability and legitimacy will be described in the following section.

2.1.3.7 Legitimacy

Definition

Power is what enables individuals or groups to dictate rules (Zelditch, 2001). It was realised relatively early on, though, that power on its own is a rather ineffective tool (e.g. Machiavelli, 1517/1988). A legitimate group will only be able to exercise its power effectively, if the power is recognised as legitimate. Legitimacy thus plays a pivotal role in determining the nature of intergroup relations. The term *legitimacy* goes back to the Latin word *legis*, which can be understood as *in accord with a rule*. Zelditch (2001) prefers a more subjective definition. He perceives legitimacy as something that is "in accord with the norms, values, beliefs, practices, and procedures accepted by the group" (p. 33). This characterisation is similar to Turner and Brown's (1978) definition, according to which the perceived legitimacy of group stratification is "the degree to which the groups perceive their status relations to conflict with superordinate values of justice, fairness or equity" (p. 209). Spears et al. (2001) argue that legitimacy links the social and the psychological levels in SIT. As indicated by the way in which it has been defined, it concerns the relationship between the social reality and its personal perception.

As with most elements in SIT, the concept of legitimacy - or rather of perceived legitimacy - has been understood in more than one way. Caddick (1982) outlines four different conceptualisations. For one, it has been argued that the perceived illegitimacy of status differences is what renders groups salient and thus comparable. Secondly, legitimacy has been assumed to refer to the awareness that the possibility for a different form of group stratification system exists. This definition thus corresponds to Turner and Brown's (1978) definition of stability. Thirdly, perceived legitimacy is a motivational factor that leads people to take action in order to shift the status structure (e.g. Appelgryn & Nieuwoudt, 1988; Bettencourt & Bartholow, 1998). And lastly, perceived legitimacy is also seen as ideology that justifies the struggle for equality. According to Caddick (1982), it is the second and third definitions of legitimacy that have been most frequently adopted in SIT research.

Legitimacy, status and ingroup bias

Generally, under legitimate conditions, people in high status groups are more biased than those in low status groups. Bettencourt and Bartholow (1998) for instance found this result to hold true irrespective of whether high status group members were in the majority or minority. Jost et al. (2001) could show that a status system that is perceived as legitimate increases ingroup favouritism among high status group members and decreases it among low status group members (see also Boen & Vanbeselaere; 2002; Hewstone et al., 2002). Jost's (2001) low status participants not only expressed decreased ingroup bias, but even favoured the outgroup when the a legitimate status difference had been generated.

Legitimacy, stability, status and ingroup bias

Turner and Brown's (1978) experiment was the first study to investigate the joint and independent effects of status, stability and legitimacy on intergroup discrimination. Their main findings were as follows:

1. Superior groups show more ingroup bias than inferior groups on dimensions of comparison that are status-related.
2. An insecure social identity, defined as an illegitimate and/or unstable status system, leads to enhanced competitive ethnocentrism for high and low status groups. To be more specific,
 - (a) perceived illegitimacy increases ingroup bias for both status groups,
 - (b) perceived instability
 - increases bias for legitimately superior and illegitimately inferior groups.
 - decreases bias for illegitimately superior groups.
3. Under some circumstances an insecure social identity leads to group creativity as a means to obtain a positive social identity.

Turner and Brown (1978) assessed creativity by asking their participants to list further methods for measuring their alleged dependent variable reasoning ability and factors in addition to reasoning ability that should be taken into consideration when assessing intelligence. *Creativity* was expressed in the number of alternative methods/factors listed. Since they found that perceived illegitimacy increased the number of factors mentioned by high status groups, they concluded, that there should be relatively little resistance to social change if the superior group perceives their own status as unjust. Superior groups would then rather look for other, more fair ways of maintaining their superiority.

Another result was that low status groups favoured the outgroup under stable and legitimate conditions. This finding has subsequently been confirmed in various other research (Ellemers, 1993; Ellemers et al., 1988; Jackson et al., 1996; Lalonde & Silverman, 1994; Moghaddam & Perreault, 1991; Taylor, Moghaddam, Gamble & Zellerer, 1987; Turner, 1978; Wright et al., 1990).

In their meta-analysis on studies of perceived legitimacy and stability, Bettencourt et al. (2001) found that on irrelevant dimensions high status groups show more ingroup favouritism than low status groups when intergroup situations are stable and legitimate and group boundaries impermeable. Nonetheless, this effect was rather small. Bettencourt et al. suggest that this might be due to the fact that under those conditions high status groups feel rather secure and do not need to show a high amount of ingroup bias in order to gain a positive social identity. When the situation is illegitimate and unstable or on relevant dimensions of comparison the difference in ingroup bias between high and low status groups is further reduced. The authors propose that this might indicate competition between the groups. Legitimacy and stability only influenced the amount of ingroup bias if group boundaries were seen as impermeable and the dimensions of comparison were irrelevant. It remains unclear why these socio-structural variables do not have an influence on relevant dimensions.

2.1.4 SIT: Shortcomings

In addition to the research interest generated by SIT, it has also received its share of criticism and suggestions for improvements. The following sections categorise and describe the concerns that have been raised with regards to SIT.

2.1.4.1 Problems surrounding inconsistent research findings

The most striking observation with regards to the research summarised in section 2.1.3 is the inconsistency of results. For almost each of SIT's elements, contrary findings, such as that of either high status or low status groups demonstrating stronger intergroup discrimination appear. However, meta-analyses have helped to shed some light on the matter (Bettencourt et al., 2001; Mullen et al., 1992). In addition, even though the nature of the influence exerted by status, stability and legitimacy on ingroup bias might not have been fully established, the research conducted over the past 30 years shows that the nature of the intergroup situation does influence and change people's willingness to discriminate.

2.1.4.2 Problems surrounding the applicability of SIT

Some critics have stressed that SIT's predictions cannot explain all intergroup behaviour. Crocker and Luhtanen (1990) for instance assume that SIT only applies to individuals with a high collective self-esteem, that is to those who generally evaluate their own social group positively. Similarly, Hinkle and Brown (1990) argue that SIT might only be appropriate for collectivistic cultures and/or altruistic people, or in other words for societies in which a high collective self-esteem forms part of the culture.

Yet, the opposite view is just as plausible. As outlined in section 2.1.3.5, Tajfel and Turner (1979) assume that when people have the opportunity to leave their low status group in order to join a group of higher status, this will be the preferred strategy (also see van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993). The implicit premise is that individuals' personal identity is more meaningful than their social identity. This is conceivably the case for Western, individualistic cultures, but would arguably be less likely to hold true for collectivistic societies. In fact, one can go further in stating that SIT might only be applicable to exactly those egocentric people and/or individualistic cultures, especially since it was developed in a Western society.

2.1.4.3 Problems surrounding ingroup bias

Amongst others, Jost (2000) criticises SIT due to the theory's emphasis on ingroup bias, while neglecting the phenomenon of outgroup bias (refer also to Hewstone & Ward, 1985; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Sidanius, 1993). He argues that SIT fails to clearly distinguish between the two processes that lead people to either favour their own or another group. In this way it leads to contradictory predictions about the relationship between group status and ingroup versus outgroup favouritism (e.g. Jost, 1996, in Jost 2000; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). SIT is unable to explain why it is that low status groups often show less ingroup bias than high status groups and the conditions under which the more extreme form of outgroup favouritism emerges (Sidanius, Pratto, & Mitchell, 1994). SIT simply assumes that disidentification with one's own group is the basis for outgroup favouritism. Jost (2000), however, argues, that disidentification alone cannot explain the extent of outgroup favouritism often displayed. There is reason to believe that it is not even a necessary condition for the occurrence of outgroup favouritism (e.g. Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Jost, 2001).

Another criticism of SIT relating to the concept of ingroup bias is that it cannot explain active aggression towards outgroups. Since ingroup bias usually arises from individuals allocating

greater positive resources to their own than to another group rather than from acts of hostility towards other groups (see section 2.1.3.3), ingroup bias fails to explain extreme forms of outgroup hostility, such as ethnic cleansings (Sidanius, Pratto, & Mitchell, 1994).

Rubin and Hewstone (in press) dismiss such criticisms. They emphasise that it is correct that SIT research has predominantly focused on ingroup bias. Yet, this does not mean that SIT is unable to explain phenomena such as outgroup favouritism or outgroup derogation. The mistake that Jost (2000) as well as many other critics fall prey to is to base their evaluations on SIT research instead of on the theory itself. Their criticism can therefore only be justified, if SIT as a theory proves unable to explain phenomena such as institutional discrimination, outgroup favouritism and outgroup derogation.

2.1.4.4 Problems surrounding social identity

Criticism concerning the conceptualisation of social identity is voiced amongst others by Capozza and Brown (2000). They argue that it is questionable whether identification processes are as generic as proposed by SIT. Besides, they question the common assumption that personal and social identities are two ends of the same bipolar dimension. It could be claimed that there is instead a range of different levels of identities. Similarly, Worchel, Iuzzini, Coutant and Ivaldi (2000) argue, that the impact of personal identity on intergroup behaviour has been neglected. They suggest that personal identity does not only impact on interpersonal, but also on intergroup behaviour. It is thus more complex than previously assumed (see also Reicher, in press). Personal identity could, for instance, be important in explaining differences between collectivistic and individualistic cultures. In individualistic cultures, individuals who believe they will personally be advantaged in comparison with other ingroup members might seek to elevate the position of the ingroup. Individuals who believe that a favourable treatment of the ingroup will diminish their relative position within the group might not engage in advancing the ingroup position. In collectivistic cultures however, there should be no differential effects on intergroup behaviour between members with a relatively high intragroup status and members with a comparatively low intragroup status.

Huddy (2001) has a different criticism regarding SIT's concept of social identity. She points out that SIT has neglected to consider the subjective meaning of social identity. The very same group categorisation can have completely different meanings for different group members and even for the same group member in different contexts. People's intergroup reactions might thus also depend on what they think about a particular group membership. For instance, if research

conducted in South Africa categorised people as South Africans they actually saw themselves as members of their respective ethnic groups, this could distort the results. In fact, Gibson and Gouws (1998) found that in South Africa strong ethnic and racial identities lead to group solidarity and antipathy towards outgroups. These outgroups are perceived as threats and thus an atmosphere of intolerance is promoted. This important finding would have been impaired had the importance individuals place on ethnic categories been neglected and the focus instead been on other, for example more superordinate categories. SIT has thus far not provided an explanation as to why a person identifies with a specific group rather than with others, nor why the strength of identification with a specific group varies over time (Huddy, 2001).

Like Huddy (2001), Campbell (1991) also points out the lack of identity content in SIT. She argues that SIT mainly focuses on the process and the structure of social identity formation. Whereas the process is concerned with the cognitive mechanisms underlying identity formation, that is with social categorisation and social comparison processes, the structure of social identity formation looks at the organisation of the self-concept as a loose association of group memberships. Campbell believes that the content of social identities is equally important, since it is dependent on, and changes with (a) the particular and limited group memberships available to a person and (b) socially and historically specific circumstances. If SIT were to take the social context of intergroup relations into account, it might also be able to explain why some individuals adopt certain identities while others do not (Huddy, *in press*). Campbell (1991) attributes SIT's failure to embed groups in a broader social context to several factors. Firstly, social identity research relies heavily on experiments and focuses less on the investigation of real group behaviour. It also fails to relate the group context to a societal level, as well as to consider identity formation and transformation against a background of changing social conditions. She therefore concludes that the theory lacks practical relevance.

Oakes (2002), as well as Reicher (*in press*) protest strongly against such criticism. Both argue that it is exactly the subjectivity of group categories that is emphasised in SIT. Reicher (*in press*) points out that there are six contextual factors that need to be taken into account in order to explain intergroup behaviour. These are (1) the perceived permeability of group boundaries (the possibility of social mobility), (2) the perceived legitimacy of the stratification system, (3) the availability of cognitive alternatives (the possibility for social creativity or social change), (4) action of the dominant group, (5) practical constraints on resources and (6) issues of power. All of these heavily depend on the social and historical context and with the exception of the last point have all been addressed by SIT.

2.1.4.5 Problems surrounding stability and legitimacy

Jost (2000) has criticised SIT's concepts of stability and legitimacy. SIT assumes that intergroup attitudes and beliefs serve the group and the self by potentially providing a positive social identity. Jost argues that if this assumption holds true, it does not explain why the social reality should ever constrain or prescribe perceptions of legitimacy and stability. Instead, individuals should be able to make active use of the concepts, that is to perceive them in a way that best serves their interests (e.g. Ellemers, van Rijswijk, Roefs & Simons, 1997; Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Jost, 2001; Spears, Doosje & Ellemers, 1997).

2.1.4.6 Problems surrounding the concept of power in SIT

As mentioned above, Reicher (in press) admits that SIT has not addressed the issue of power. Power is an important concept, since it could explain why high status groups are more discriminative. Usually, only they have the power to meaningfully take the actions that will result in discrimination (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1985). However, even dominant groups will generally only discriminate if their social identity is insecure (Turner & Reynolds, 2003). This could indicate that power has little utility as an explanation of intergroup behaviour in comparison to legitimacy and stability of the intergroup situation.

When one takes into account that SIT's primary concern was not to explain discrimination, but rather behaviours of resistance and attempts by inferior groups to realise social change, it becomes clear why the role of power originally had no relevance in SIT. Power would have been a constant variable, since inferior groups generally have little or no power. However, de la Rey (1991) argues that if perceptions of legitimacy and stability are regarded as important in SIT, then the issue of power should also be considered. Power does not address the perceived but the *real* legitimacy and stability of intergroup relations as expressed in the social reality, that is the real social, economic and political differences between groups.

In the rare cases in which power has been considered as variable, it was seen as a dimension of comparison between groups, that is as contributing quantitatively to the amount of discrimination displayed. It is however not seen as a qualitative contributor, such as group status. Nevertheless, since power and status have been found to have differential effects, Sachdev and Bourhis (1991) argue that power should be seen as equivalent to status.

2.1.4.7 Problems surrounding ideologies in SIT

SIT also fails to address the influence of ideologies on intergroup attitudes and behaviour. If status relationships were solely defined by perceptions of stability and legitimacy, the elite would simply have to create these perceptions in such a way that low status group members accept their inferiority. However, perceptions of legitimacy are rooted in general ideologies. These are deeply engrained in a society and cannot be changed quickly and easily. SIT has failed to consider the nature of ideologies, which influence perceptions of legitimacy and how they do so (de la Rey, 1991; Jost, 2000). Power itself could be perceived as one such ideology. A form of SIT which accounts for the influence of power could perhaps explain why categorisation occurs and what group categorisation was salient. The failure to include the influence of ideologies makes it more difficult to explain the origins of intergroup conflict. Race-based discrimination for instance can only be understood if the underlying ideology of racism is explored (Foster, 1991; see also Spears et al., 2001).

2.1.4.8 Problems surrounding the experimental procedure

Often, SIT has frequently been criticised for its undue reliance on experimental research, while ignoring the real-life context (Charles, Park, Ryan, Brauer & Kraus, 1995). In addition, most studies have been limited to looking at intergroup attitudes between two groups only – normally groups of different status. In most real-world settings, however, the intergroup situation is more complex with more than just two groups that differ on various socio-structural dimensions (Jackson, 1999). Yet, Reicher (in press) sees the restriction of intergroup research to two groups as an advantage. Ambiguity about which group is the ingroup and which one the outgroup is eliminated. Experimental research adds the benefit of being able to restrict the possible dimensions differentiating the ingroup from the outgroup. With only one dimension of comparison the influence of confounding variables is ruled out.

The particular experimental procedure most commonly used in SIT research, the MGP, has also been subjected to criticism. It has been claimed that it does not provide a truly minimal situation. Mummendey (1995) stresses that the results of different experiments indicate that group identification and behaviour are sometimes even intensified when conditions of anonymity and visual or physical separation are introduced. Moreover, the interpretation of the MGP outcomes in terms of a desire for positive social identity has been questioned (e.g. Diehl, 1990; Mummendey, 1995; Mummendey & Otten, 1998; Otten & Wentura, 1999).

In replying to such criticism, Turner (1999) emphasises that critics overemphasise the importance of the MGP in SIT. They fail to recognise that it was simply SIT's starting point. It is therefore erroneous to conclude that SIT's assumptions are based too heavily on experimental research. Similarly, Reicher (in press) stresses that researchers have often misused SIT by reducing the theory to the MGP, without considering its broader framework. He emphasises that the MGP was actually subsequently applied to real-life intergroup situations, as outlined by Tajfel and Turner (1979). It is true, however, that most research in the SIT line by researchers other than Tajfel and Turner has relied on experimental procedures as indicated by the studies included in Mullen et al.'s (1992) and Bettencourt et al.'s (2001) meta-analyses.

2.1.4.9 Problems surrounding the social in SIT

Some researchers argue that SIT is a reductionist theory. This criticism centres on SIT's alleged failure to incorporate the social surrounding into its theory in a manner akin to the discussion surrounding social identity described in section 2.1.4.4. Turner and Bourhis (1996), for instance, summarise the criticism that has been raised in different articles by Rabbie and colleagues (Horwitz & Rabbie, 1989; Rabbie, 1991; Rabbie & Horwitz, 1988; Rabbie, Schot & Visser, 1989). In these articles, Rabbie et al. argue that SIT has neglected to differentiate between social categories that are simple accumulations of individuals having one or more things in common and social groups that are dynamic wholes, in which individuals are interdependent. A category can become a group when the category members start acting as entity, but the two are by no means interchangeable. However, Turner and Bourhis (1996) reject this criticism, pointing out that the distinction between social categories and social groups has been made right from the conception of SIT. The concept of social identity is what transforms social categories into social groups. Once a person starts identifying with its categorisation and thus develops a social identity, the person becomes the member of a social group. By differentially allocating resources between the ingroup and the outgroup in the MGP, for instance, positive social identities are achieved and social groups created. Rabbie et al. (1989), on the other hand postulate that the MGP results are best explained by rational instrumental behaviour that serves an individual's self-interest. This is contradicted by research which seems to indicate that personal self-interest plays no role in the MGP, at least when evaluative ratings instead of monetary allocations are used to measure ingroup bias (Gagnon & Bourhis, 1991, in Mummendey, 1995).

SIT has also been accused of attempting to explain group behaviour solely in terms of individual psychology, thereby ignoring the social reality in which group interactions take place. Turner and

Bourhis (1996) reject this reproach by arguing that SIT has always been a socio-psychological theory. As such, its aim is to explain the interaction between the social and the psychological mechanisms that lead to group behaviour. It does not attempt merely to explain the social or the psychological elements of intergroup behaviour, but rather their causal interaction. Within SIT, the social reality sets the frame within which psychological processes can operate. Tajfel (1979) explicitly states that in order to explain group behaviour it is necessary to “know (i) something about the ways “groups” are constructed in a particular social system, (ii) what are the psychological effects of these constructions are; and (iii) how the constructions and their effects depend upon, and relate to, forms of social reality” (p. 179). Rubin and Hewstone (in press) define how SIT operates on different levels of analyses. These include firstly the social psychological level, as it attempts to explain why people show social competition. Secondly, on the system level, SIT addresses when people show social competition. Lastly, it includes the societal level, in its explanation of how people show social competition. Social competition, in contrast to realistic competition, can occur in the absence of realistic or objective conflict over scarce resources. It is driven by the need for positive social identity.

2.1.5 Conclusion

Since its emergence in the 1970s SIT has elicited a vast amount of research. This has led to the refinement and extension of SIT itself, as well as to the development of new theory. These include approaches that have not been included in this review, such as self-categorization theory, optimal distinctiveness theory and new perspectives of the concepts of social influence, stereotyping, as well as group cohesion and motivation (Brown & Capozza, 2000). It has even influenced Social Dominance Theory (SDT), which will be outlined in the following section. Brown and Capozza (2000) attribute SIT's popularity to three factors. Firstly, when it emerged it served as a complement to Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif, 1966) in that it added the notion that intergroup conflict is not only due to realistic conflict over resources between groups. Secondly, it combined cognitive as well as motivational aspects in explaining intergroup conflict. The cognitive process of social categorisation was followed by motivations to maintain, enhance or leave the group, depending on the nature of the group categorisation. Tajfel and Turner (1979) argue that this is what differentiates SIT from former approaches. Its individual hypotheses provided nothing new. However, the combination and integration of processes of social categorisation, self-evaluation and intergroup comparison provided a testable framework. It was therefore possible to apply the theory in a wide range of social contexts, thereby ensuring

that it developed a following despite the strong, exclusively cognitive focus at the time. Thirdly, the theory looks at the social as well as at the individual level of analysis. While it assumes that people who agree on the nature of the intergroup context would endorse the same attitudes and thus act as group, it also focuses on the individual need for positive distinctiveness and individual perceptions of group relationships (Brown & Capozza, 2000).

2.2 Social Dominance Theory (SDT)

As is the case with SIT, Social Dominance Theory (SDT) is a theory focusing on intergroup relations. Its aim is to discover and explain those mechanisms that serve to establish and maintain hierarchical relationships between the different groups that constitute societies. In SDT these hierarchies are referred to as *group-based hierarchies*. They emerge and are maintained because one group, which has more power than at least one other group, uses its power to oppress the subordinate group(s) (Sidanius, Devereux & Pratto, 1992; Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1996; Sidanius, Pratto, & Mitchell, 1994). An overview of SDT's history, its components, as well as the criticism surrounding it is provided in detail in the following sections.

2.2.1 SDT's Origins

There were two main reasons why Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto developed a new theory dealing with group-based oppression (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Firstly, they had observed that forms of group-based hierarchies seemed to exist in every society. Although this phenomenon had already been described by Leonard (1984), Sidanius and Pratto realised that up to that point no theory could offer a satisfying explanation. Secondly, they had noticed that while there were numerous theoretical approaches that aimed at explaining phenomena like prejudice, discrimination and oppression, these were mostly unrelated to each other. Therefore, at the end of the 1980s, Sidanius and Pratto began to combine elements of different theoretical approaches in an attempt to establish a global, cross-culturally valid theory that is able to explain the ubiquitous phenomenon of group-based social hierarchy. This resulted in SDT.

SDT is based on approaches such as social comparison, SIT, neoclassical elitism theories, research findings within the fields of political socialisation and public opinion, psychophysiology and the reasoning of evolutionary psychology (Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a). Sidanius and Pratto (1999) add the authoritarian personality theory, Rokeach's two-value-theory of political behaviour, Blumer's group position theory and Marxism as influences. Since this thesis focuses on the relationship between SIT and SDT, none of the other theoretical approaches will be described. They will only be referred to whenever necessary in order to clarify the understanding of SDT. The interested reader will find more detailed information about the theories and their influence on SDT in Sidanius and Pratto (1993a; 1999). The influence of evolutionary thinking will, however, be covered in greater detail, since it determines SDT's view of discrimination and oppression.

SDT adopts a model of biocultural interactions. This means that biological as well as cultural factors, such as learning experiences, are assumed to determine discriminative behaviour (Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1994). From the biological perspective the theory takes the notion that discrimination has survival value. Sidanius and Pratto (1993a) argue that in times of scarce resources societal hierarchy ensured the unequal distribution of resources, with dominant groups receiving a greater share of these resources than subordinate groups. Through this, those belonging to the dominant group were spared from deprivation. This secured the survival of some members of the species and thus enhanced the chances for survival of the species as a whole. Furthermore, Sidanius and Pratto suggest that a clear hierarchical structure, in which each group knows and accepts its place, also reduces conflict and in that way contributes to a higher chance for survival. Lastly, SDT argues that if conflict does occur hierarchical systems provide a competitive advantage over non-hierarchical systems, in that societies with hierarchical group ranks possess a better organisation and consequently a higher chance of winning. Since this suggests that individuals who favoured hierarchy were more likely to survive, SDT assumes that favouritism for hierarchy has eventually evolved as inherent feature of the human species. SDT sees this as the reason that group-based stratification systems are resistant to extinction.

In recent years, interest in research on SDT has grown steadily. Validity tests of the theory and its elements have been conducted in various cultures. Opinion polls as well as experimental research have been used in order to refine the theory. The main findings of this research are incorporated in the following sections.

2.2.2 SDT: An Overview

SDT is based on three main assumptions, which were derived from the observation that group-based social hierarchies exist in every society and culture.

1. Discrimination between gender and age groups occurs in all existing societies. In addition, further forms of group-based discrimination emerge in all those societies that produce economic surplus.
2. A human predisposition for a desire for inequality between groups is what triggers most forms of group conflict and oppression.
3. Two counterbalancing forces exist in each society. One force strives to achieve more inequality and is thus hierarchy-enhancing. The other promotes equality and helps to attenuate the hierarchy.

In order to integrate the assumptions into one general framework, SDT draws on various elements (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). They are outlined in the following section.

2.2.3 SDT's Elements

SDT assumes that socialisation, temperament, gender and the status of the group a person belongs to influence the development of a person's social dominance orientation (SDO). The evolved characteristic of SDO expresses a person's desire for a society, in which groups are hierarchically structured. The extent to which a person endorses this desire influences which values, attitudes and ideologies, that is so-called legitimising myths, an individual adheres to. These serve to justify various forms of intergroup discrimination. If discrimination can be justified, its rightfulness will be accepted. Through discrimination group-based social hierarchies are created and maintained. Figure 2-2 provides a schematic overview of SDT. All of the components and their interaction will be outlined in the following sections.

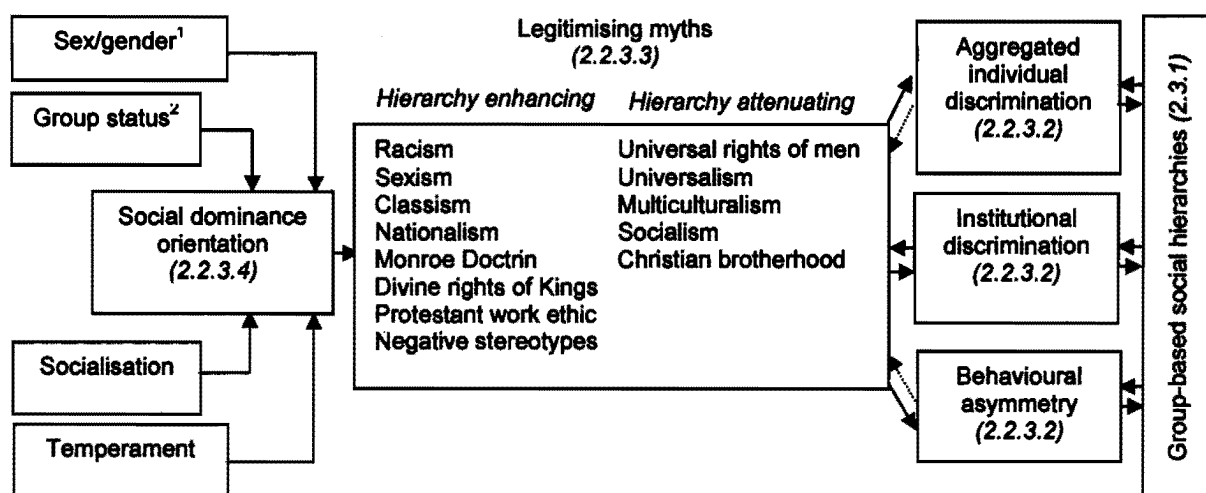


Figure 2-2: Schematic overview of SDT (adapted from Sidanius & Pratto, 1999)

[Numbers in brackets indicate the section of the literature review dealing with the element]

¹ = males expected to have a higher SDO than females

² = high status groups expected to have a higher SDO than low status groups

2.2.3.1 Group-based social hierarchy

The first premise upon which SDT is based assumes that all societies consist of at least two different group-based social hierarchies. The first hierarchical system is defined by gender, with men being more dominant than women. The second system is constituted by age. Older people

are assumed to have higher status than children and young adults. In some societies there is a curvilinear relationship between status and age in that status starts to decline again when people reach a more senior age, usually, at the point when they lose their ability to live independently. In societies producing an economic oversupply - which is the case in most contemporary cultures - a third relatively stable *caste* system emerges. This consists of arbitrary defined groups, such as ethnic or national groups. As its name implies, the arbitrary set-system differs from the other two in that the definition of its groups is fluctuating. Furthermore, the maintenance of arbitrary-set systems often requires a greater level of violence (Sidanius et al., 1992; Sidanius, Levin, Federico & Pratto, 2001, Sidanius, Levin, Liu & Pratto, 2000; Sidanius, Levin, Rabinowitz & Federico, 1999; Sidanius, Liu, Shaw & Pratto, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000).

All three hierarchy systems consist of one hegemonic group, which is superior to at least one other subordinate reference group (Federico, 1998; Levin & Sidanius, 1999; Pratto et al., 2000; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a; Sidanius et al., 1999, Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). The hegemonic group is characterised by a disproportionally large share of positive social value, such as political power, wealth, high social status and so forth, or in other words "all those material and symbolic things for which people strive" (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; p. 31). In contrast, subordinate groups possess a disproportionally large share of negative social value. For instance, relatively more members of subordinate groups are imprisoned and receive harsher sentences for comparable crimes than dominant group members. In other words, hegemonic and subordinate groups differ in the extent of power they possess (Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz & Federico, 1998; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994; Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius et al., 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000; Sinclair, Sidanius & Levin, 1998).

2.2.3.2 Discrimination

SDT claims that the different forms of group-based hierarchy are maintained through (a) different forms of discrimination exerted mainly by members of the dominant group against members of the subordinate group(s) and (b) via behavioural asymmetry. Behavioural asymmetry refers to various forms of behavioural differences between dominant and subordinate group members (Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius et al., 1992; Sidanius et al., 1999). One such difference, for instance, has been specified as asymmetrical ingroup bias and refers to a common finding in SIT research, in which dominant groups show high ingroup favouritism, while subordinate groups show less ingroup bias or even favour the outgroup. SDT assumes that this behaviour serves to

further weaken the subordinate group's position. It implies that it is false to assume that subordinate groups merely accept the discrimination shown against them, but rather, that to a certain extent, they actively participate in their own oppression. It is for this reason that Sidanius et al. (2001) call group-based oppression "a cooperative and choreographed project" (p. 319; see also Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a).

Discrimination against members of subordinate groups takes place on different levels of analysis. On the individual level, SDT specifies individual aggregated discrimination as the mechanism via which group stratification systems are maintained. Individual aggregated discrimination means that individual acts of discrimination aggregate over a greater number of people (Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a; 1999). For example, a person might refuse to sell property to someone on the grounds that this person does not belong to the same ethnic group as others in the neighbourhood. If this behaviour was employed by a large number of people it would ensure that members of other ethnic groups are denied access to housing in that area, and possibly other concomitant privileges, such as access to good schools.

Discrimination on the institutional level refers to procedures, rules or laws, such as the South African Apartheid laws, which ensured discrimination against certain groups (Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a). A form of discrimination that is closely related to institutional discrimination is labelled as *terror* in SDT (Pratto et al., 2000). It means that in addition to maintaining law and order, agencies such as the police, military and the judiciary also serve to maintain hierarchical relationships. This arises from the observation that the people working for these agencies or who dictate or influence their behaviour are usually those that strive for inequality and hierarchy in a society.

The following section outlines the mechanisms by which societies justify these various forms of discrimination.

2.2.3.3 Legitimising myths

Crandall (2000; p. 242) argues that "Justification is the flip side of suppression; it is the releaser of stigmatisation-based prejudice and discrimination, rather than the cause of it". This indicates that whatever the roots of discrimination might be, whether it is expressed depends on whether it can be justified. SDT assumes that if dominant groups can convince subordinate groups of the legitimacy of their dominance, subordinate groups will most probably not rebel against the discrimination that is exercised against them as a means to keep them in their position. In this

regard, SDT coincides with SIT, which also assumes that the perception of legitimacy of the stratification system influences the level of discrimination a person displays.

Instead of convincing subordinate groups of their legitimate superiority, dominant groups could also resort to force in order to maintain their status quo. In fact, SDT argues that force might also be a powerful tool when establishing a new hierarchy. However, in order to maintain the hierarchy, discrimination is the far more effective strategy, under the condition that all groups in the society believe in the rightfulness of the stratification system (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Under what conditions does the dominant group succeed in establishing a position of dominance that is perceived as legitimate? Unlike SIT, SDT specifies the mechanism through which perceptions of legitimacy are achieved. It postulates that the means to convince a society that its stratification system is fair are hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths. Hierarchy-legitimising myths are understood as group relevant beliefs, ideologies and attitudes, which influence the various forms of discrimination in that they morally and intellectually justify the unequal distribution of social value. They are society's guidelines as to how people should or should not behave (Levin et al., 1998; Pratto, 1999; Pratto, Tatar & Conway-Lanz, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1996; Sidanius et al., 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto & Rabinowitz, 1994). They include "social stereotypes, principles of resource allocation [...], role prescriptions, origin myths, citizenship rules, and other stories or ideas that identify groups" (Pratto, 1999; p. 199). Pratto (1999) argues that despite the fact that a legitimising myth is only effective if it is largely accepted in a society, it does not imply that every person in that society has to agree with it. Instead, it means that the majority in a society understands its meaning and perceives it as relevant. Legitimising myths thus need to be linked to the central values of a culture and be widely known within the culture in order to be effective (Pratto et al., 2000). The elite group in a society has the power to manipulate the availability of specific legitimising myths. In the case of Apartheid South Africa for instance the ruling class used means such as censorship of the media and silencing of those who expressed ideas which threatened the status quo (Finchilescu, 1991).

In addition to hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths a second form of legitimising myth exists. These so-called hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths legitimate the striving for group equality. The ideology of socialism is one example for a hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myth (Federico, 1998; Levin et al., 1998; Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius et al., 1999; for further examples of hierarchy-enhancing and hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths refer to Figure 2-2). In any stable society there is a balance between hierarchy-enhancing and hierarchy-

attenuating legitimising myths (Sidanius, 1993). This point is reached when the society is kept as hierarchical as possible without critical conflict within other central values and beliefs within the social system and without causing socially destabilising deprivation among the subordinate group(s) (Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a).

Legitimising myths are not necessarily true or false in themselves. In many cases it is probably not even possible to objectively determine their correctness. However, they are powerful as long as they are perceived to be true by a majority of the society (Pratto, 1999). The degree of consensus about a legitimising myth among a society's major groups is referred to as its power or potency. The greater a legitimising myth's potency, the more stable the system is (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto, Martin & Stallworth, 1991).

SDT also explains why some people subscribe to hierarchy-enhancing myths, while others adhere to hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths. According to SDT, the social environment a person lives in is one reason for this difference, as the environment prescribes specific roles and role-conformant behaviour. In this way it determines what myths are available (Pratto et al., 1999). The workplace serves as an illustrative example. If a person works in a hierarchy-enhancing environment, such as the criminal justice system, this person will more likely adhere to hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths. A person who is active in an environment that emphasises equality between groups, such as a human rights organisation, will find hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths more desirable (Sinclair et al., 1998). If the social context does not encourage to act according to specific roles, people's values and ideological habits determine what type of myths they support. SDT assumes that these are expressed in an individual difference variable called Social Dominance Orientation. This concept is described in the following section.

In summary, legitimising myths unite the individual and the societal level of analysis in SDT. A society's circumstances determine which legitimising myths emerge. Individuals within that society determine the impact that each legitimising myth has by supporting different myths to different extents. Pratto et al. (1999; p. 144) express this by referring to legitimising myths as the "glue that unites individuals into societies: Ideologies prescribe how people establish both symbolic and material aspects of social relationships".

2.2.3.4 Social Dominance Orientation

The majority of SDT research has focused on what SDT calls Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). Following a definition of the concept, this section describes research findings relating to SDO and its relationship to gender and group status. The link between SDO and legitimising myths is also outlined. Finally, SDO is distinguished from other constructs.

Definition

Extensive research employing the construct of SDO was first reported in Pratto et al.'s 1994 article. They introduce the variable as a "general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations" (p. 742). It is regarded as a randomly distributed human motivational characteristic, as well as an implicit value guiding group relations. Specifically, it is seen as one of the major forces driving outgroup aggression and oppression. Through this concept SDT assumes, to a greater extent than SIT, that intergroup behaviour is not only characterised by ingroup favouritism, but also by outgroup derogation (Pratto, 1999; Sidanius et al., 1992; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a; Sidanius, Pratto & Brief, 1995; Sidanius, Pratto & Rabinowitz, 1994). In its current definition SDO is described as an individual's predisposition to form group-based social hierarchies - in other words as the desire to live in a hierarchical society in which groups enjoy different levels of status (e.g. Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1996; for a review of how the definition of SDO has changed over the years see section 2.2.4). It is crucial to understand that SDO only relates to the desire for group-based hierarchy, not to the desire for hierarchy between individuals. In other words SDO relates to people's attitudes when they perceive themselves as group members. In SIT's terms it means that SDO exerts its influence when people's social identity as opposed to their personal identity is salient. SDO is therefore seen - and has also been found - to be different from interpersonal dominance (Pratto, et al., 1994). Secondly, SDO, though described as a characteristic of the individual, is not derived from personality research. It originated from assumptions about the nature of group-based social life, as outlined in section 2.2.1. Pratto (1999) therefore suggests that SDO differences between individuals should neither be used to classify people into categories nor to show the uniqueness of a person. When interpreting individual differences in SDO it should be kept in mind that people do not live in a vacuum but interact with the outer world, that is with other people and the society as a whole. SDT is assumed to be a dynamic model "in which different kinds of people [...] play different roles [...] and have different effects on each other [...]" (Pratto et al., 1994; p. 755). It is for this reason that Pratto (1999) stresses that an individual's absolute SDO level is of no interest, as it is always

dependent on some point of reference. More important are the relationships between SDO and other variables.

The preceding paragraph also points to the fact that SDO is only one aspect of SDT, even though the majority of research perceives and treats it as the central construct. This development is not surprising since short questionnaire scales to assess a person's SDO level exist (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). SDO scales have been used in most research examining how SDO relates to other variables. Research results relating to SDO and gender, status and legitimising myths are discussed in the following paragraphs.

SDO and gender

One of the most cross-culturally consistent findings in SDO research is that males have higher SDO scores than females. Males thus have a higher desire for group-based hierarchies. This phenomenon has been labelled *invariance hypothesis* (e.g. Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1994; Sidanius, Pratto & Rabinowitz, 1994). For instance, Sidanius, Pratto and Bobo (1994) found males to have higher SDO scores than females in their sample of Los Angeles county residents. This difference held true in each age cohort they examined, with participant ages ranging from 18 to over 78 years. They also found the gender differences to be invariant when controlling for political ideology, abortion position, income (as people with higher incomes generally had lower SDO scores), region of birth (Europe and Canada, United States, Latin America, Asia and Middle East), ethnicity, educational level (the more educated generally being less social dominance oriented), racism and, less consistently, also for religion. However, the mean effect size for the gender difference was rather small (.07), which sheds doubt on the practical value of the results. Nevertheless, the authors argue that the difference in SDO between males and females should not be trivialised as the finding was highly consistent. The results of Sidanius, Pratto and Bobo's (1994) study thus support the strong form of the invariance hypothesis. This version states that males always have higher SDO scores than females and that the difference between male and female scores should be invariant across cultures. The weak version of the invariance hypothesis assumes that although males will always have higher SDO scores than females this effect is fine to vary across different cultures and situations.

In contrast to Sidanius, Pratto and Bobo's (1994) findings, Sidanius et al. (1995) only obtained support for the weak version of the invariance hypothesis. The authors compared data collected from samples in Australia, Sweden, the US and Russia. They found a significant interaction between gender and nationality. Gender differences in Russia and Sweden were more pronounced than in Australia and the US. However, given that in Australia and the US the

original English language version of the SDO scale was employed whereas this was not the case in Sweden and Russia it could be argued that non-equivalence in the questionnaire versions might have caused the interaction between culture and gender.

The origin of the gender difference in SDO is assumed to lie in the reproductive advantage that SDO might have had for our male and female ancestors (Pratto, Sidanius & Stallworth, 1993). Pratto et al. (1993) reason that males are usually more socially dominant than females since SDO provided a stronger evolutionary advantage for them. Since female fertilisation occurs internally males can never be sure that the child their partner gives birth to is their own. They thus risk investing precious resources into another man's offspring. In order to increase the chance that a child is actually their own, males had to develop strategies that prevented their partner from gaining access to other mates. One way of doing so was to dominate females, for example, by exerting control over necessary resources. This again was easier and more effective in cooperation with other males. It thus benefited males to cooperate with other males and to jointly "oppress" the outgroup of females. A high desire for inequality or SDO, would thus have been of advantage for men, whereas women would have obtained no reproductive advantage from showing a high SDO (see also Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000).

The findings of some studies are, however, not consistent with this evolutionary explanation of the gender differences in SDO. Lee, Pratto and Li (2003), for instance, found no gender difference in SDO scores in Taiwan, although the authors consider it a sexist culture. They conclude that in cultures, which have a strong cultural tradition of support for hierarchy, it is possible that men and women support group-based anti-egalitarianism. In individualistic cultures or in cultures in which minority/subordinate rights play an important role, gender differences in SDO might occur. This supports SDT's assumption that SDO levels are influenced by cultural factors as well as by socialisation. Further support for an influence of socialisation is provided by Schmitt, Branscombe and Kappen (2003). They found that men most probably only have higher levels of SDO because societies are structured as patriarchies. When they primed participants by letting them assume that women have more power than men their female participants had higher SDO levels.

SDO and group status

In addition to the general finding that males have higher SDO levels than females, SDO also provides support to the more general claim that members of any high status group possess a higher SDO than low status group members. In most cases research looking at how group status relates to SDO has focused on ethnic groups, mainly in the US. Here, it is usually indeed the

case that European Americans have higher SDO scores than Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans and African Americans (refer to Sidanius & Pratto, 1999 for a more detailed description of research results). In these cases, a society's group hierarchy seems to be mirrored in the SDO levels of these groups' members. The lower a group's status the lower its average SDO score as compared to groups with higher status (Pratto, 1999). The more similar the status of groups the more similar their SDO levels. Sidanius et al. (2000) call this phenomenon the "interaction hypothesis" (p. 43). The possible explanation for this hypothesis is that the more advantaged a high status group is, that is the more dominance it possesses, the more its members desire to maintain their position, that is the more they favour inequality. Low status group members on the other hand are unsatisfied with the stratification system. The lower their status the more unsatisfied they are. They should thus show opposition to the current hierarchical system by desiring equality.

There is once again evidence that contradicts SDT's assumption that high status group members have higher SDO scores than low status group members. Sinclair et al. (1998) for instance tested whether a hierarchy-attenuating environment, such as a university setting, lowered SDO scores for various ethnic groups. After nine months of exposure to the university setting Asian Americans (low status group) had higher SDO levels than European Americans (high status group). Sidanius, Pratto and Bobo (1994) found a similar result in that their Asian and Hispanic participants displayed higher levels of SDO than European and African Americans. They hypothesise that this result is due to the fact that Asia and Latin America have less of an egalitarian tradition than the US.

SDO and legitimising myths

Since SDO expresses a person's desire for unequal group relationships, SDO should be related to hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths. Hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths serve to enhance or maintain conditions of inequality between groups and are therefore subscribed to by people with high SDO. People with a low SDO, on the other hand, are more likely to support hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths, as they help to achieve equality within a society. Belief in these myths should therefore be negatively related to SDO. Correlations between SDO and various legitimising myths have been found in a number of studies (see Table 2-1).

Table 2-1: Variables that are positively or negatively related to SDO

References: Essee, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001; Pratto, et al., 1994; Pratto, Stallworth & Sidanius, 1997; Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Liu, 1992; Sidanius, Liu, Shaw & Pratto, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a, 1993b; Sidanius et al., 1991; Sidanius, Pratto & Mitchell, 1994; Sidanius, Pratto & Rabinowitz, 1994	
Hierarchy enhancing legitimising myths <i>(positive correlation)</i>	Hierarchy attenuating legitimising myths <i>(negative correlation)</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opposition to affirmative action/busing • Racism • Militarism/Support for the military • Political conservatism • Attribution of poverty to the laziness and inherent inferiority of the poor • Support for the death penalty • Support for very painful executions • Opposition to spending on the poor • Protestant work ethic • Support for the police force • Support for the 1992 police beating of Rodney King • Support for the 1991 gulf war • Sexism • Nationalism • Chauvinism • Patriotism • Political-economic conservatism • Ideologies promoting the superiority of one group over others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support for affirmative action • Support for social welfare programmes • Women's rights • Gay and lesbian rights • Positive attitudes towards immigrants / immigration

Since SDO is related to a variety of ideologies, Pratto, Stallworth and Sidanius (1997) argue that it has to be a more general concept than ideologies such as racism. That is, it cannot simply be an ideology itself. Support for the assumption that SDO is a general construct is also provided by Sidanius and Pratto (1993b). They found that the cross-culturally consistent correlation between political conservatism and racism could be accounted for by their mutual association with SDO (see also Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1996). Similarly Sidanius, Pratto and Bobo (1994) were able to show that SDO predicted various dependent variables better than racism and political conservatism. It was the only predictor that significantly predicted each of the examined variables.

On the other hand, it could be that the correlation between SDO and other ideologies is due to the SDO scale asking about groups in general without referring to any specific type of group.

Therefore, in a questionnaire assessing racism and SDO, participants might think about race groups while completing the SDO scale. The scale would then simply serve as an alternative racism measure. In this case one would predict a high correlation between the SDO and the racism scales. If a questionnaire assessed sexism and SDO, participants might have been primed towards gender groups by the sexism items and thus complete the SDO scale with gender in mind. In this case, SDO should correlate with sexism. Support for this hypothesis is provided by research conducted by Schmitt et al. (2003). They found that when participants had been primed for race, racism but not sexism predicted SDO. The opposite effect was found when participants had been primed for gender. Similarly, in a previous study Schmitt et al. (2003) had shown that racism and SDO correlated stronger the more participants had been thinking about race while completing the SDO scale. It is therefore not clear if the SDO scale assesses a general orientation or rather different concepts depending on the specific context in which it is measured.

SDO and its relationship to other variables

The relationships between SDO and other variables have been extensively investigated, mainly in studies specifically set out to test SDO's construct validity. The findings of this research support the notion that SDO is not simply a duplication of other existing constructs. The relevant research results will be described in this section.

Pratto, Stallworth and Sidanius (1997) found that a measure of conservatism and a four item SDO scale loaded on two different, though related factors. They took this as proof that SDO is indeed different from conservatism, especially since SDO accounted for variance in policy attitudes that was unaccounted for by conservatism. In addition, SDO has been distinguished from interpersonal dominance and authoritarianism. Negative relationships have been found between SDO and empathy, tolerance, communality and altruism (Pratto et al., 1994). SDO is also unrelated to various life aspects, such as nonworking life, family life, friendships and health (Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1994). Heaven and Bucci (2001) found that high SDO participants rated themselves as low on dutifulness, morality, cooperation, sympathy and artistic interests. There was also a trend for participants to see themselves as low on trust and achievement striving. In Lipka and Arad's (1999) study SDO was correlated with disagreeableness, coldness, vindictiveness, and aggressiveness. An interesting aspect of this study is that personality variables were assessed via self-ratings in questionnaires and also as ratings made by three independent judges on the basis of interview data. The judges rated interviewees with high SDO scores as similar to their self-ratings, in that they were seen as disagreeable, cold and prejudiced.

2.2.4 SDT: Shortcomings

With the suggestion that discrimination owes its existence to the evolutionary advantage assumed by it, SDT took a pessimistic and rather provocative position. It is therefore not surprising that just as SIT, the theory of SDT was increasingly subjected to criticism, partly due to sometimes vague and contradictory definitions of its underlying concepts. Since this thesis is concerned with the concept of SDO, the following sections will be restricted to the criticism of this concept. Of all elements underlying SDT, it has received by far the greatest criticism. Problems with SDT in general are outlined in Huddy (in press) and Jost (2000).

2.2.4.1 Problems surrounding SDO's definition

In their 1992 article, Sidanius et al. criticised Symbolic Racism Theory (e.g. McConahay & Hugh, 1976) for its inconsistency in definition. They argued that various symbolic racism theorists have defined the theory in slightly different ways. The exact same criticism applies to the concept of SDO, partly caused by Sidanius et al. (1992) themselves. Originally SDO had been introduced as a "basic motive or drive toward group based social inequality" (Sidanius et al., 1991; p. 693). Only a year later Sidanius et al. (1992) added a second aspect to the concept in referring to it as "a very general and basic human desire to perceive one's group as superior to and possessing greater social status than the generalised other" (p. 380) (see also Sidanius & Liu, 1992; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a). That is the initial definition of SDO refers to a person's general striving for hierarchical social systems regardless of the own group's standing in the hierarchy. Sidanius et al.'s (1992) definition, on the other hand, specifically states that SDO expresses a person's wish for their own group to be superior. (see also Heaven & Connors, 2001; the inconsistencies in SDO's definition are also pointed out by Sidanius et al., 2001).

These two definitions have highly different implications. If SDO was simply the general desire for group-based inequality the correlation between SDO and hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths should be positive and of the same strength for high and low status groups. Low status groups would support the current group stratification since they should not mind being at the bottom of the stratification system, as long as some form of hierarchy exists. However, if SDO is the desire for own-group superiority, the correlation between SDO and hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths should be stronger for members of the dominant group than for subordinates groups. The reason is that hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths would then serve the needs of high status group members with high SDO levels more than the respective members of low status groups. This latter finding is the most common. SDT has labelled it as *ideological asymmetry*

(Sidanius et al., 2001; Sidanius, Levin & Pratto, 1996; Sidanius, Pratto & Rabinowitz, 1994). Rabinowitz (1999) offers an explanation that assumes that SDO includes both the desire for anti-egalitarianism as well as the desire for ingroup superiority. In line with SDO's initial definition he assumes that some members of low-status groups who are high on SDO support the current hierarchical system, because they support anti-egalitarianism in general. They might consequently identify less with their own low-status group, favour the high-status group instead and support hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths. He draws on SDO's second definition in order to explain the responses of the remaining low-status group members with high SDO levels. He argues that these participants might instead want their own group to be superior to other groups. They would consequently desire to change the current system and not support hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths. Thus considering all high SDO members of low status groups together, the correlation between SDO and hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths has to be weaker than among high status group members.

If the two definitional aspects of SDO do lead to contrary outcomes for low status group members, it sheds doubts on the assumption that they both form part of the same construct. Given that psychological constructs serve to predict behaviour it should be possible to predict whether a low status group member of a particular SDO level will support a specific legitimising myth. This is not the case if it is unclear whether a high SDO score refers to the desire for anti-egalitarianism or whether it indicates the striving for ingroup superiority.

Until 1996, SDO's conceptualisation remained inconsistent. In some articles the construct had been defined as a general desire for anti-egalitarianism (Pratto et al., 1993; Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1996). Other articles exclusively referred to it as the striving for own group superiority (Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius, & Liu, 1992; Sidanius, Pratto & Mitchell, 1994). Finally, the remaining articles included both aspects as forming part of SDO (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius, Liu et al., 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993b; Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1994; Sidanius et al., 1995; Sidanius, Pratto & Rabinowitz, 1994). It is only from 1997 that SDO has consistently been referred to as the general desire for anti-egalitarianism. It is for this reason that Rubin and Hewstone (in press) suggest that research findings should rather be considered as supporting one of three hypotheses instead of supporting just one theory. The hypotheses are (1) SDO as desire to dominate, (2) SDO as desire to dominate and for hierarchical relationships, (3) SDO as desire for hierarchical systems.

2.2.4.2 Problems surrounding SDO's measurement

There are also a number of concerns regarding the measurement of SDO, which mainly originate from its inconsistent definition. Firstly, it is not quite clear what type of variable is being measured. Sidanius, Levin and Pratto (1996) for instance state that SDO can be measured on a scale similar to an attitude or ideology scale. They perceive SDO as general ideology, whereas Rabinowitz (1999) describes it as personality variable and Sidanius and Pratto (1999) as general orientation. The latter seems to be the most common view. Secondly, the variety of SDO's conceptualisations makes it difficult to determine the nature of the construct which is supposed to be measured. However, regardless of the researcher's approach, SDO is usually assessed with similar measures in the form of the SDO scales. Yet, it would be surprising if the same measure was suited for the exclusive assessment of the desire for anti-egalitarianism on one occasion, the striving for ingroup-superiority on another and both aspects on a third occasion.

The latest version of the SDO measure, the SDO₆ scale (Pratto et al., 1994) tried to clarify this confusion. Rabinowitz (1999) argues that it differs from its former versions in that it exclusively assesses the general desire for anti-egalitarianism and thus SDO's current conceptualisation. If this is the case then all items should load significantly on a single factor. This is what Sidanius and Pratto (1999) found, based on exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses. However, confirmatory factor analyses carried out by Jost and Thompson (2000) revealed that two correlated factors provide a better fit than the one-factorial solution suggested by Sidanius and Pratto (1999). Jost and Thompson (2000) labelled the two factors *general opposition to equality* and *support for group based dominance*, which corresponds to the two definitions of SDO described above. It has been argued that since all items of the SDO scale that are formulated in the inequality direction (e.g. "Some groups of people are simply inferior to others.") load on one factor (*support for group based dominance*) and all items worded in the equality direction (e.g. "Group equality should be our ideal.") on the other (*general opposition to equality*), the two factor solution is no more than a statistical artefact. However, Jost and Thompson's work (2000) dismisses this argument by showing that the two factors also had differential effects on various other variables. This should not have been the case if the two factors were equivalent.

A different concern relating to SDO's measurement is that scores on the SDO scales are usually rather low. Generally, sample means are below the scale's midpoint of 4. Regarding this finding Pratto (1999) emphasises that high absolute SDO scores are not crucial for social dominance systems to emerge. Even people with relatively low scores can create or wish to create discriminatory systems. Research has for instance shown that participants with SDO scores of

only around 2.5 preferred hierarchy-enhancing careers over hierarchy-attenuating careers (Pratto, Stallworth & Sidanius, 1997) and discriminated against minimal outgroups (Pratto, Shih & Orton, 1998; in Pratto, Stallworth & Sidanius, 1997).

Lastly, Levin and Sidanius (1997) argue that it is crucial to administer the SDO items after a series of questions that highlight what intergroup context is concerned. If SDO is a general desire for any form of group-based hierarchy this should not be necessary. If the SDO scale is given after a series of questions concerning specific groups, participants will most likely think of those specific groups when completing the SDO scale instead of answering with regards to group relations in general. This might mean that SDO does not measure a general desire, but rather specific attitudes like ethnocentrism or sexism, since ethnic or gender groups might be the groups that participants have been primed for. This assumption is supported by research conducted by Schmitt et al. (2003). As described above, they found that racism scores were only correlated to SDO when their participants had thought about race groups while completing the scale. In a conclusion to a series of experiments they harshly criticise SDT by stating that “simply finding that people who have a general orientation toward inequality generally accept inequality does little to identify the factors that lead people to accept or reject inequality” (p. 182).

2.2.4.3 Problems surrounding SDO's influence on discrimination

SDO is described as one of the driving forces for discrimination (Sidanius, 1993). It is believed to indirectly lead to discrimination via its influence on legitimising myths. People with high SDO are assumed to support those legitimising myths that help to enhance the existing hierarchical system. These myths serve as justification for the various forms of discriminatory behaviour. However, whether SDO is necessary in addition to legitimising myths in order to explain discrimination needs to be questioned. Pratto et al. (1999) report a study in which they primed their participants towards particular legitimising myths. They either emphasised that the most needy are most deserving of resources (hierarchy-attenuating) or the most meritorious (hierarchy-enhancing). Participants were then asked to allocate resources in a different context without being given instructions about who would be the most deserving. Participants continued to allocate resources according to their previous priming condition. Their SDO levels had no influence on what party the resources were allocated to. It was only in the control condition, in which participants had not been primed towards a specific type of ideology, that those with higher SDO levels allocated resources more often to the meritorious party and those with low levels of SDO gave more resources to the needy party. Pratto (1999) argues that instead of being

the determinant for discrimination SDO should be perceived as the readiness to discriminate. Specific ideologies or cues present in a particular context decide whether discrimination is triggered. Although people high and low on SDO have different ideological habits these will only guide their behaviour if the context does not prescribe the use of different ideologies. In other words, it is only when the social context does not prevent the use of ideological habits that people with a high SDO will show high discrimination.

Yet, research has revealed that the relationship between SDO and legitimising myths or discrimination is even more complicated. Group status has been found to moderate the effects of SDO, leading for instance to ideological asymmetry. In addition to serving as moderator variable, SDT predicts that group status also influences SDO levels (refer to Figure 2-2). As described in section 2.2.3.4 studies have revealed that people from high status groups generally have higher SDO scores than individuals belonging to low status groups. The influence of group status on SDO has been demonstrated by Levin and Sidanius (1997). They looked at the amount of SDO in participants when different intergroup contexts were salient. Since SDO is defined as a very broad and general orientation not directed towards a specific group, Levin and Sidanius (1997) expected the mean levels of SDO to remain unaffected by changing intergroup contexts. Their participants were Mizrachim Jews, Ashkenazim Jews and Arabs in Israel. Mizrachim Jews are in the unusual situation of being either a high or a low status group depending on the group context. As compared to Ashkenazim Jews - that is in an ethnic context - they have low status. When compared to Arabs, in a national context, they constitute the high status group. Their participants were either primed via questionnaire items preceding the SDO scale towards either the ethnic or towards the national context. The results show that SDO scores varied within participants depending on the priming. In the ethnic context the high status group of Ashkenazim Jews showed higher SDO scores than the Mizrachim. Interestingly, there was no such difference between the Ashkenazim and Mizrachim when the same participants were primed for the national context, in which Jews and Arabs were compared (see also Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

The importance of group status along with other contextual variables such as the perceived legitimacy and stability of the status hierarchy is outlined in the following section.

2.2.4.4 Problems surrounding SDO and other contextual variables

The evolutionary thinking underpinning SDT might lead one to believe that social dominance theorists would perceive the role of contextual factors as negligible. However, as described in

section 2.1.1, SDT adopts a model of biocultural interactionism. Learning and socialisation are therefore seen as important influences on a person's SDO development. Pratto (1999), for instance, describes how by learning about the various forms of group hierarchies in their society, such as those based on race or sex, individuals start to generalise what they have learned to a group dominance orientation which is independent of any particular group stratification system. In the same way, a society will create on a cultural level an environment in which the development of group dominance is facilitated. Sidanius and Pratto (1999) provide an illustrative example of how socialisation influences behaviour. They were interested in investigating how much ingroup bias members of three age cohorts in the US would display. One cohort, the *pre-civil-rights* cohort, was born before 1942. The second cohort of participants consisted of people born between 1942 and 1962 (the civil-rights cohort). The third cohort was the *post-civil rights* cohort, and included those participants born after 1962. Subordinate group members in the pre-civil rights cohort showed less ingroup favouritism than dominant group members of the same age range. In contrast, subordinate group members from the two other cohorts showed more ingroup bias than dominant group members.

The influence of the social context reaches beyond the acquisition of SDO levels. Pratto et al. (1994) emphasise that SDO, as an individual difference variable, cannot explain all forms of group conflict or prejudice. Instead, the social context and individual factors are interdependent. It is therefore necessary to take the social context into account when investigating the influence of individual characteristics. They postulate that future research should focus on how contextual factors influence SDO and how both are related to discrimination. This is what Levin and Sidanius (1997) did in their Israeli sample when they showed intra-personal variability of SDO levels depending on what intergroup context was salient (see above). The importance of intergroup salience was also investigated in a minimal group study by Pratto et al. (1998). High SDO people discriminated more than low SDO people (in that they most frequently used the strategy of maximum ingroup gain in an allocation task) if the group context had been made salient. The authors conclude that group context is highly important in determining whether discrimination will be shown or not.

Other contextual variables that have been found relevant are the socio-structural variables stability and legitimacy, as well as status threat. In their implicit discrimination experiments Pratto et al. (1998) found that high SDO individuals were automatically more discriminatory than low SDO participants as long as the status of a real high status group to which the participants belonged was threatened. However, they could also demonstrate that this does not necessarily imply that high and low SDO people differ in their actual behaviour.

Esses et al. (2001) demonstrated that the context also shapes the attitudes of people with a high SDO. The authors assessed people's attitudes towards immigrants and immigration among US American and Canadian samples. They assumed that people with a high SDO consistently perceive life as a struggle for resources between groups. That is why they hold negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Esses et al. (2001) asked participants to read essays in which the outgroup of immigrants was made part of the ingroup. That is they attempted to change the perception of the nature of the stratification system. Participants with high SDO levels who had read these essays had far more positive attitudes towards immigrants when assessed after the essay than high SDO participants who had read neutral editorials or editorials emphasising common ethnical roots. For low SDO participants no such effect was found.

Results like these attenuate the grim picture of the inevitability of discrimination that SDT seems to draw at first glance. It means that the possession of SDO might by itself be adaptive in a social Darwinism sense, and therefore be inevitable, but that specific contextual conditions can lead to SDO not being expressed as discriminatory behaviour. On the other hand, given the strong effects that context has on SDO one should consider the possibility that the assumption of an internal difference variable such as SDO is unnecessary in explaining the occurrence of discrimination. It might not provide a significant contribution towards explaining discrimination beyond that provided by situational factors alone.

2.2.5 Conclusion

SDT set itself the ambitious goal of integrating theoretical approaches that deal with group-based discrimination and oppression. In addition, it developed and incorporated the new concept of SDO. As it is based on a wide range of theories, its scope is rather broad. SDT attempts to explain group inequality on an individual, group and societal level. On an individual level, SDO has been specified as a predictor of discrimination. Since SDT assumes that the status of groups determines the extent to which and therefore the desire for inequality emerges, it also incorporates the group level. Finally, SDT argues that the society as a whole determines which system of legitimising myths evolves. By specifying the interaction of the different levels of explanation, the theory describes how discrimination interacts between these levels. This interplay between group oppression on the part of individuals, groups and the society as a whole leads to stability in a society and leads dominant and subordinate groups to accept the stratification system.

SDT's most prominent features are the assumption of a human predisposition for discrimination and that discrimination and inequality are natural default conditions of group interaction. It is exactly these features that have received the harshest criticism. However, Sidanius and Pratto (1999) specifically emphasise that although they do believe that true equality will never be achieved, this does not mean that the striving towards it is worthless. They also stress that subordinate groups will not necessarily always keep quiet. The pressure that they apply towards systemic changes will though be less effective than the pressure from the dominant group to maintain the system.

2.3 Social Identity versus Social Dominance

In sections 2.1 and 2.2 the theories of Social Identity and Social Dominance as well as related research findings were summarised. Both theories give different explanations as to why people show intergroup discrimination. Whereas SIT assumes that it is one means to achieve or maintain a positive social identity, SDT suggests that discrimination is triggered by the human disposition to desire inequality between groups. As SDT sees this disposition as a feature that is inherent to the human species, it argues that discrimination is inevitable. SIT, on the other hand, allows for the possibility that - depending on the nature of the social context - there are situations in which discrimination might be absent. In addition to the different assumptions about the roots of intergroup discrimination, the theories also disagree in other regards. Nevertheless, SDT explicitly draws on some of SIT's assumptions. SDT researchers even argue that their aim is in fact to complement and integrate SIT (Sidanius, Pratto, & Mitchell, 1994; Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar & Levin, in press; Spears et al.; 2001). Both theories therefore also share some common ground. A summary of the theories' similarities and differences is given in Table 2-2. Each of these will be described in more detail in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2.

Table 2-2: Common ground of and differences between SIT and SDT

Common ground			
• Discrimination is seen as a non-pathological phenomenon			(2.3.1.1)
• The aim of discrimination is to achieve distinction between groups			(2.3.1.2)
• Status differences between groups are seen as important determinants of discrimination			(2.3.1.3)
Differences			
SIT		SDT	
• Power differences between groups are not considered		• Power differences between groups are considered	(2.3.2.1)
• Discrimination may or may not occur		• Discrimination always occurs	(2.3.2.2)
• Factors of the intergroup context determine the extent of discrimination		• A characteristic inherent to a person (SDO) determines the extent of discrimination	(2.3.2.3)
• Ingroup bias is the focus		• Ingroup bias, outgroup bias and outgroup derogation are considered	(2.3.2.4)
[Numbers in brackets indicate the section in the literature review describing the element]			

2.3.1 Common Ground

2.3.1.1 Ordinariness of discrimination

SDT and SIT both assume that discrimination is not only expressed by individuals with pathological characteristics, but rather is understood as a natural human behaviour. Turner (1999) claims that “social antagonism [...] is the result of ordinary, adaptive, and functional psychological processes” (p. 9). This is similar to Sidanius and Pratto’s (1993a) understanding of the concept as evident in their statement that “we should instead regard prejudice, discrimination and oppression as normal or default condition huddled at the very heart and soul of politics as a process of human interaction.” (p. 207).

2.3.1.2 Objective of intergroup conflict

Sidanius and Pratto (1999) point out that SDT has adopted SIT’s view about the objective of intergroup conflict. Both theories assume that conflict does not primarily serve to maximise ingroup gain, but rather to achieve a maximal distinction between groups. Maximal differentiation even takes place at the cost of some of the group’s own possessions.

2.3.1.3 Definition of status

In some way, both theories have similar notions about what defines high status or dominant groups. Tajfel and Turner (1986) for instance define high status groups as those groups that fare comparatively better on valued dimensions such as educational achievement, wealth, speech styles or occupational status. This sounds rather similar to Sidanius and Pratto’s (1999) definition of dominant groups. They argue that a dominant group is “characterised by its possession of a disproportionately large share of positive social value, or all those material and symbolic things for which people strive.” (p. 31). They also both define wealth as an example of something with positive social value. Although the definitions of both theories sound similar, they differ in that SDT explicitly refers to power as one defining characteristic of status. Social dominance theorists criticise SIT for neglecting to disentangle social status from power. In SDT power and social status are perceived as two independent variables that contribute to rendering a group dominant, whereas in SIT high status and power are perceived as intertwined (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; see below).

2.3.2 Differences

Apart from the difference in the definition of status/dominance SIT and SDT also differ in terms of their theoretical foundations. SIT is concerned with the *liberation* of oppressed groups from those that exert power over them (Billig, 2002). SDT's development was triggered by the observation of omnipresent group-based hierarchies. Its objective is to reveal why it is that these hierarchies appear everywhere (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). These differences in their goals lead the theories to approach intergroup conflict from two different angles. While social identity theorists might ask about the conditions that make genocide and warfare possible, for instance, SDT assumes intergroup conflict to be the default condition, and might try to answer why there is sometimes an absence of warfare (Billig, 2002; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). These disparities invariably result in a different understanding of certain concepts to be described in the next sections.

2.3.2.1 Ubiquity and stability of discrimination

SDT's initial observation and one of its main assumptions is that group-based discrimination, at least with regards to gender and age, occurs ubiquitously (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In SIT on the other hand, intergroup bias is perceived as a common, but not universal phenomenon. Contextual factors determine whether it occurs (Hewstone et al., 2002). SIT can be seen as the mediator between the social context and individual action. In SIT the world is perceived as a constantly changing reality, one which is shaped by social categorisation and which in turn itself creates social categorisations. Groups and their definitions are assumed to change over time – and with it intergroup behaviour. SIT hence emphasises variability and possibility in human behaviour (Reicher, in press).

SDT, on the other hand, focuses on human constraints. Although it acknowledges the influence of contextual factors, it generally has a more static worldview, in which social categories do not change once they have been established. Groups are perceived as set, which is one of the causes for the omnipresence of discrimination (Huddy, in press). In such circumstances, people do not have the opportunity to shape the type of world they live in (Reicher, in press). Taking the example of gender, this view implies that gender discrimination is cross-culturally invariable (see section 2.2.3.1). SIT in contrast assumes that the meaning attached to gender differences determines gender related behaviour. This meaning might well differ from society to society. Gender-based discrimination could thus be more likely to occur in one society than in another (Huddy, in press).

SIT and SDT emphasise that individuals always belong to more than just one group. However, only SIT claims that since some of these groups might be more important to a person than others, that person will also identify with some groups more strongly. Consequently, the person will see him/herself as a member of these groups more often. Membership of a particular group is linked to specific forms of behaviour, norms and values (Reicher, in press). Therefore, whether or not different forms of behaviour are considered appropriate depends on which group membership is salient. This implies that in a given situation membership of one group might prescribe discriminatory behaviour, whereas membership of another might not. SDT, on the other hand, argues that if a person discriminates as a member of one group, the person would tend to transfer this behavioural tendency to all other group relationships and situations (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Schmitt et al. (2003) argued that the different assumptions underlying SIT and SDT also lead to divergent predictions about the desire for inequality, or SDO. SIT would assume that people support inequality to varying degrees depending on what kind of group membership is salient. If a person's membership in a dominant group is the most prominent the person would favour inequality, if a person's membership in a subordinate group is salient, this person would favour equality. A White South African woman for example could perceive herself as White South African and favour inequality, if she perceives White South Africans as high status group. If she sees herself as female, that is as member of the subordinate group, she would favour equality. Therefore, the amount of SDO that is expressed on the SDO scale depends on what group context a person thinks of when completing the scale (see also Levin & Sidanius, 1997). SDT, on the other hand, would ignore the group context and state that the desire for inequality is a fairly general and stable attitude and this should be reflected in SDO scores.

Nevertheless, despite these differences, some statements made by SIT researchers suggest that the difference between SDT and SIT might not be quite as substantial as outlined above. For instance, Turner (1980) himself points to the relative stability of discrimination when he argues that "people do not seem motivated to achieve social equilibrium, they strive for positive group distinctiveness" (p. 143). Tajfel (1969) also emphasises that categorisation is an automatic process through which an otherwise overly complicated world is structured. The consequence of this automatic process is *prejudgement*. And finally, Caddick (1982) argues that SIT assumes that the desire for a positive social identity is both omnipresent and at the core of prejudices and discrimination. If this is true, then it leaves little room for cooperation between groups – and thus for a world without discrimination. Brown (2002) however stresses that Tajfel also emphasised that categorisations - and with it prejudice - are changeable. To categorise members

of different groups into one superordinate group category, for instance, should lead to an eradication of discrimination.

2.3.2.2 Individual characteristics

Sidanius and Pratto (1999) describe discrimination and oppression as something that “exists”, due to an underlying predisposition - as some sort of stable characteristic that “makes” people want to oppress others. It is here that another distinction between SIT and SDT becomes evident. Whereas Sidanius and Pratto assume that social discrimination can be traced back to a natural psychological orientation, Turner (1999), amongst others, explicitly rejects the claim that discrimination is due to something that lies *within* a person. In SIT it is the interaction of people’s views of themselves, of the world and of social relations that determines if discrimination against another group is shown. Sidanius, Pratto and Rabinowitz (1994) argue that without an individual difference variable asymmetrical ingroup favouritism and attachment between high and low status groups can be explained, but not ideological asymmetry. Moreover, it is only due to the inclusion of SDO as an individual difference variable that it is possible to consider the influence of motivational differences between individuals as well as the broader social context within which the individual finds him/herself (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Finally, it is difficult to explain the huge variation within high and low status groups without the help of an individual difference variable (Levin, Federico, Sidanius & Rabinowitz, 2002). For instance, SDT is able to explain ingroup variations in ingroup attachment as a function of SDO (Sidanius, Pratto & Rabinowitz, 1994).

2.3.2.3 Power

As outlined above, SDT criticises SIT’s disregard of the influence of power on group relationships (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Even the SIT researcher Reicher (in press) expresses the urgent need for SIT to consider power as an additional contextual factor that influences whether group discrimination occurs. Nonetheless, Reicher also argues that SIT has already implicitly incorporated power into its theory. In SIT, power (or dominance) is seen as inherent to the social process. That is, dominance is established by the interaction of groups themselves. He points out that in SDT dominance is brought into the group relationships from outside as a psychological disposition or evolutionary universal. Sachdev and Bourhis’ (1985) finding that power and status have differential effects on intergroup relations indicates that SDT’s view of power as extraneous variable might indeed be correct.

2.3.2.4 Ingroup and outgroup bias

Sidanius and Pratto (1993a) state that, according to SIT, members of low status groups will try to avoid comparisons with high status groups, as such comparisons cannot result in their favour and are thus detrimental to their self-esteem. Yet, to refrain from outgroup comparisons with dominant groups when they control the society would seem difficult, if not impossible. Research has in fact revealed that instead of simply ceasing to draw comparisons with the high status group, low status groups often resort to outgroup favouritism, which should be even more detrimental to their self-esteem (e.g. Hinkle & Brown, 1990).

SDT can explain why ingroup bias occurs among high status group members and outgroup favouritism among low status group members. It argues that this is necessary in order to make societal hierarchies and structures as stable as they are. This stability leads to a better treatment of subordinate groups and allows the hegemonic group to exercise power and oppression without resistance. If subordinates refused their position (e.g. because they showed ingroup favouritism and pride of their group membership) conflict would arise and the system would ultimately not endure.

2.3.2.5 Outgroup hostility

SIT postulates that ingroup bias is caused by the need for positive distinctiveness. In most cases it results from the favourable evaluation of the ingroup rather than from a devaluation of the outgroup (see section 2.1.3.3). SDT regards such assumptions as inadequate since they cannot explain the occurrence of explicit outgroup hostility (e.g. Sidanius, Pratto & Rabinowitz, 1994). Billig (2002) provides an illustrative example. To make use of SIT in order to explain the holocaust can only result in a gross oversimplification. It reduces the reasons for the holocaust to the Germans' need for positive social identity. It is also impossible to explain the neo-fascist movements in Western Europe through simple social categorisation processes. Billig argues that both phenomena are due rather to a mixture of categorisations and individual motives. This is similar to SDT's description of SDO as an individual difference variable that influences intergroup behaviour in interplay with the nature of the context. As a result of the inclusion of SDO SDT is able to explain outgroup aggression as well as ingroup favouritism. Research has shown that individuals with high SDO levels do indeed use ingroup favouritism and outgroup hostility in order to create difference between groups (Pratto, 1999).

2.3.3 Examples of Research Combining SIT and SDT

Sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 have shown that despite some common ground, SIT and SDT disagree widely on a number of their assumptions. The most striking difference is that SIT presumes that characteristics of the intergroup context are crucial in predicting the extent to which a person displays intergroup discrimination, whereas SDT highlights the importance of the individual difference variable, SDO. The failings of both theories, as described in sections 2.1.4 and 2.2.4 indicate that neither of the theories is able to fully account for individual differences in intergroup discrimination.

It is possible that a combination of claims derived from both theories can provide a better approach to explain why people discriminate. It is for instance conceivable that a personal characteristic, such as SDO, together with the variables of the intergroup context identified by SIT, can explain the level of intergroup discrimination shown by members of different groups. Over the past few years, research adopting this strategy has begun to emerge. The relevant findings are presented in the following sections.

2.3.3.1 Ingroup identification and SDO

Levin and Sidanius (1999) investigated the interactive effects of SDO and ingroup identification on ingroup and outgroup affects. They found that high status group members with high levels of SDO had more negative feelings towards low status groups than high status group members with low levels of SDO. A similar effect was not found when looking at the high status group's feelings for the ingroup. Here, ingroup identification was a predictor, with people who identified more with their ingroup feeling more positive towards it. The authors hypothesise that for high status groups, ingroup affect might be influenced by SIT processes, whereas outgroup feelings are affected by social dominance needs. Whether ingroup favouritism or outgroup derogation occurs is thus a question of whether social identity or social dominance needs are salient. SDO was also found to be positively related to ingroup identification and intergroup bias in high status groups. The opposite relationship holds true for low status groups. That is, the higher the SDO in low status group members, the less they identify with their group and the less ingroup bias they show (Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin & Pratto 1997; Sidanius, Pratto & Mitchell, 1994; Sidanius, Pratto & Rabinowitz, 1994). To the contrary, Levin and Sidanius (1999) found no consistent relationships between SDO and ingroup identification on ingroup and outgroup affect for their low status groups. They hypothesised that this result might be due to the fact that among these low status groups the intergroup situations had differed in the extent of social

stratification and the perceived legitimacy and stability of the status hierarchy. The authors therefore advised that future research should consider such contextual factors in order to establish their potential influence on the ingroup and outgroup affects of low status group members. Respective research will be described in the following sections.

2.3.3.2 Perceived stability and SDO

Generally, high status groups display greater ingroup favouritism than low status groups (see section 2.1.3.5). Accordingly, high status groups also possess higher SDO levels than low status groups (see section 2.2.3.4). In a combination of these two findings, Sidanius, Pratto and Levin (1995; in Federico, 1998) looked at the relationship between group status, SDO and ingroup favouritism. They found a positive relationship between SDO and ingroup favouritism for their high status group of European Americans and a negative relationship for the low status group of African Americans. Federico (1998) assumes that this is the case, because ingroup favouritism has a hierarchy-attenuating function for low status groups. It expresses the view that this group “deserves” better. Low status group members who express ingroup favouritism should therefore strive to diminish status differences and thus have a low SDO. If low status group members have a high SDO they should favour the outgroup, that is the high status group, in order to express their desire for inequality. Federico argues further that this relationship should be moderated by the perceived stability of the stratification system. For some low status group members, high SDO levels express the desire to see their own group on top instead of being dominated by another group. This aspect of SDO has been referred to as *group based dominance* or *group justification*. If status relationships are perceived as stable, the chance of reaching own group dominance is rather slim. Low status individuals might then prefer to instead express their wish for hierarchy in general, that is the so-called *system justification* or *general opposition to equality* aspect of SDO, by favouring the outgroup. However, if status relationships are perceived as unstable the chance to achieve own group dominance is given. Under such conditions, individuals should display ingroup favouritism. Federico’s (1998) assumption was supported in a study, in which Latinos and African Americans as low status groups were compared with European Americans as high status group. Federico (1998) concludes that his results show that ingroup versus outgroup favouritism is not as much driven by the need for positive social identity, but rather by desires for equal or hierarchical relationships between groups.

2.3.3.3 Perceived legitimacy and SDO

Levin et al. (2002) showed that in addition to the perceived stability the perceived legitimacy of the stratification system also plays a role. They argue that the perceived legitimacy determines whether SDO's system justification or group justification aspect is triggered. As described in the previous section, system justification means that SDO expresses the desire to maintain the stratification system as it is, whereas group justification indicates a person's wish to see the own group as dominant. Just as Federico (1998) Levin et al. (2002) assume that depending on which aspect is present, low status groups should either show ingroup or outgroup favouritism. If people accept the current hierarchical system they see it as justified. If this is the case, low status group members with high levels of SDO should show system justification behaviour. That is they should show as much favouritism towards the high status group as high SDO members of the dominant group. Low status group members show ingroup favouritism, that is group justification behaviour, if they see the stratification as illegitimate, because they assume that their own group deserves to be dominant. For high status groups the system justification and group justification motives should lead to the same result, that is favouritism for the own group. The assumptions were tested and confirmed in two real world settings with Jews and Arabs in Israel in one sample and Whites and Latinos in America in the second sample.

Rabinowitz (1999) uses a similar explanation for the phenomenon of ideological asymmetry. He assumes that high status group members with high SDO levels support the current stratification system independent of how legitimate it is perceived. They thus always adhere to hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths. For low status groups, a strong relationship between SDO and hierarchy enhancing-legitimising myths should only occur for those members that perceive the status system as fair. Low status group members with high SDO that perceive the system as illegitimate, however, would adhere to hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths. This is the case, as an attenuation of the stratification system would enhance the relative status of the own group. His research confirms these assumptions. Rabinowitz (1999) concludes that SDT neglects to specify that two asymmetrical processes take place in low status groups. Steered by perceived injustice they either lead to a strong relationship between SDO and hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths or to a less strong or negative relationship between the two variables.

2.4 Research Question

Section 2.3.3 has given an overview of research, which has investigated the combined influence of variables of the intergroup context and SDO. That is, research in which some of the main driving forces of discrimination identified by SIT and SDT have been assessed simultaneously. The common result of such studies is that SDO and the intergroup context interact in shaping the amount of intergroup discrimination individuals display, indicating that personal characteristics together with characteristics of the social environment contribute to people's willingness to discriminate. In order to further specify what leads people to discriminate, this thesis continues in this line. Its aim is to assess when and to what extent personal characteristics and perceptions of the social context together evoke individual differences in intergroup discrimination and prejudice in South Africa.

It differs from the research described in section 2.3.3 in two ways. Firstly, previous research has focused on SDO, group status and only one additional socio-structural variable. When attempting to investigate whether a combination of SDT's and SIT's assumptions can account better for differences in the amount of discrimination individuals display than either theory alone, such an approach is reductionist. Instead, all of the socio-structural variables that SIT identifies need to be included, that is group status and (perceptions of) legitimacy and stability of the intergroup context. This thesis therefore investigates the interactive effects of all of these variables and SDO.

Secondly, all of the previous research that has combined elements of SDT and SIT has been conducted in societies with relatively stable and clear group stratification systems. South Africa, on the other hand, is a society, in which drastic political changes have recently been taking place. As a consequence, one of the major group-based hierarchies, the racial stratification system, is in the process of changing. Due to the particular circumstances in South Africa it is therefore possible to test whether SDT, which postulates that stratification systems are characterised by their stability, also helps to explain intergroup attitudes in a society, which is currently undergoing transformation.

In addition to the main research question, this thesis also considers the controversy about the meaning of SDO. As shown in section 2.2.4, it is unclear what the SDO₆ scale measures and whether SDT is right in postulating that it is indeed a stable and general attitude.

To address the research question, three studies have been conducted. The first looks at the reliability and validity of the SDO₆ scale, which is the measure that is commonly used in order to

assess SDO. In South Africa no research has yet employed sufficiently big and representative samples in order to reveal whether the scale is applicable in this society. The scale is then employed as measure of SDO in the two following studies. Study 2 addresses the research question by assessing the joint influence of SIT's socio-structural variables and SDO on intergroup discrimination in an experimental setting. It also investigates the stability of the SDO₆ scale over time and situations. In Study 3, the experimental study is transferred into a real life situation by looking at the influence of SDO, group status and perceptions of stability and legitimacy on individual levels of race-based discrimination.

The aims of all three studies are summarised in Table 2-1.

Table 2-1: Overview of the conducted research

Study 1 (*Chapter 3*)

Objective: Establish psychometric properties of the current SDO scale (SDO₆) for South African/Western Cape population

Reason: As the reliability and validity of the SDO₆ scale have not yet been assessed on sufficiently big samples in South Africa, its psychometric properties are established and compared to those found in other societies.

Study 2 (*Chapter 4*)

Objectives: (1) Test SDO's temporal and situational stability
(2) Establish the influence of SDO versus situational factors on ingroup favouritism in an experimental setting

Reason: (1) Study 1 investigates the psychometric properties of the SDO₆ scale in South Africa, but does not look at its temporal stability as indicator of reliability.
(2) SDT regards SDO as the main driving force of discrimination, whereas SIT emphasises the importance of situational variables. The joint assessment of all of these variables allows a comparison of the explanatory power of both theories.

Study 3 (*Chapter 5*)

Objective: Establish the influence of SDO versus situational factors and ingroup identification on ingroup favouritism in a real life setting (in the South African/Western Cape population)

Reason: This study attempts to transfer the results of Study 2 into a natural intergroup setting, which is characterised by a changing stratification system.

3 Study 1

Before being able to investigate the general research question using South African samples, it is necessary to determine the adequacy of the commonly used measure of SDO, the SDO₆ scale. This is the aim of this first study. It considers the scale's internal consistency and validity - particularly its convergent and divergent construct validity.

The following sections outline the background, objective and hypotheses of this study as well as providing a detailed description of the sample and measures. Following this, the results will be presented and discussed.

3.1 Background

As indicated by Pratto et al. (2000), the SDO₆ scale has predominantly been developed and employed in North American college samples. In South Africa its reliability has not yet been satisfactorily established. With regards to the scale's construct validity, hardly any studies have been conducted anywhere in the world. Without an indication about the scale's psychometric properties in the South African society, it is unclear whether research results that seemingly disagree with SDT merely reflect an invalid measure or an inadequacy of SDT's assumptions. If the former is the case, SDT inconsistent results would not constrain SDT's cross-cultural validity, but rather indicate that in the South African society a different measure of SDO is needed. The objective of Study 1 is therefore to establish the validity and reliability of the SDO₆ scale in South Africa by gathering questionnaire data from an extensive and diverse sample.

3.1.1 Social Dominance Research in South Africa

Research on SDO using South African samples has been published by Heaven, Greene, Stones and Caputi (2000), Duckitt (2001) and Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis and Birum (2002). In all cases the South African samples formed part of cross-cultural research. With studies conducted in New Zealand and South Africa Duckitt (2001) set out to show that SDO should be regarded as an ideological attitude rather than as a personality characteristic. The South African sample consisted of White Afrikaans speaking university students. In Duckitt et al. (2002), the results of the same South African sample and a North American sample are reported. Correlations between SDO and various other constructs are specified, but no mean levels of SDO are given.

Furthermore, Duckitt (2001) and Duckitt et al. (2002) did not administer the full 16-item SDO₆ scale but a 10-item Afrikaans version. The internal consistency of this scale was $\alpha = .79$.

Heaven et al. (2000) compared the SDO levels of 112 White² and 53 Black South African students with those of a Black American and an Australian sample using the 14-item SDO₅ scale. The reliability, as measured by Cronbach α , was .85 for the Black South African participants and .79 for the White South African participants. Heaven et al.'s results revealed that White South Africans have the highest average SDO level followed by Black Americans and Black South Africans. This finding is in line with their hypothesis that White South Africans should have high levels of SDO as they are the previously advantaged (i.e. dominant) group. The result thus validates the scale.

In summary, in both South African samples the SDO items used had good internal consistencies. However, no research in South Africa has yet employed the SDO₆ scale in its complete form. In addition, Heaven et al. (2000) emphasise that more representative samples are required in order to draw inferences for the South African context. The following sections outline the reliability and validity of the SDO₆ scale in various other societies. If the scale is appropriate in South Africa, similar results should be obtained in that society.

3.1.2 SDO₆ Scale: Its Reliability

The reliability of the SDO₆ scale has been reported as internal consistency (Cronbach α) and sometimes as temporal stability (retest reliability) with good to very good coefficients for both. Pratto (1999) reports the average α of the scale in her data (up to 1995) as .92. This is slightly higher than the internal consistency generally found in various cultures, with coefficients varying between .72 and .91 and an average of $\alpha = .85$ (see Table 3-2).

With regards to the scale's temporal stability, Pratto (1999) obtains an average retest reliability of .86. This is similar to Pratto and Lemieux's (2001) finding. For a sample of students that were in the top third or bottom third of their population regarding SDO, they revealed a retest reliability of .93 after an interval of some weeks. This indicates that even despite the fact that the sample consisted of participants with extreme responses, no regression to the mean had taken place. Similarly, Pratto and Shih (2000) also tested for retest reliability in students with either particularly low or high SDO scores in two experiments. With .81 in the first experiment and .80

² In this thesis, "Whites" refers to South Africans of European descent, "Blacks" to South Africans of African descent and "Coloured" to South Africans of mixed descent; an overview of the race situation in South Africa is provided in Table 5-1.

in the second experiment, the results were slightly lower than the temporal stabilities reported by Pratto and Lemieux (2001). The retest interval is not mentioned.

Table 3-2: Internal consistency (α) of SDO₆ scale in various samples

Nation	Sample Description	N	α
Canada ⁶	Residents of Vancouver	93	.91
Canada ¹⁰	Students	93	.90
Canada ¹	Students	100	.89
China ¹⁰	Students	300	.66
Israel ⁶	Heterogeneous sample	162	.81
Israel ¹⁰	Students	705	.83
Israel ⁶	Students	303	.86
Israel (Arabs) ⁹	Students	181	.84
Israel (Jews) ⁹	Students	711	.86
New Zealand ¹²	Heterogeneous sample	158	.84
New Zealand ¹⁰	Students	209	.88
New Zealand ¹²	Students	163	.88
New Zealand ⁹	Students	185	.86
Palestine ¹⁰	Students	159	.66
Taiwan ³	Students	349	.85
United States ¹⁰	Bay Area Voters	478	.72
United States ¹⁰	Stratified random sample	706	.82
United States ¹⁰	Students	823	.89
United States ¹⁰	Students	45	.92
United States ¹⁰	Students	235	.91
United States ¹⁰	Students	103	.89
United States ¹⁰	Students	207	.90
United States ¹⁰	Students	583	.80
United States ³	Students	322	.90
United States ⁷	Students	106	.89
United States ⁵	Students	245	.91
United States ⁵	Students	199	.91
United States ⁴	Students	294	.90
United States ⁸	Students	398	.85
United States ²	Students	113	.91
United States ¹¹	Students	363	.88
United States ⁹	Students	783	.89

N = sample size; ¹Danso & Esses (2000); ²Federico (1998); ³Lee et al. (2003); ⁴Levin & Sidanius (1999); ⁵Pratto et al. (1994); ⁶Pratto et al. (2000); ⁷Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius & Siers (1997); ⁸Rabinowitz (1999); ⁹Sidanius et al. (2000); ¹⁰Sidanius & Pratto (1999); ¹¹Whitley (1999); ¹²Wilson & Liu (2003)

3.1.3 Construct Validity of the SDO₆ scale

Whereas the validity of the predecessor of the SDO₆ scale, the SDO₅ scale, has been extensively analysed in various cultures, for instance in the studies reported by Pratto et al. (1994), less research has focused on the validity of the SDO₆ scale. With regards to its criterion-related validity, Pratto et al. (1999) state that it has been able to predict group behaviour in experiments. The same holds for field studies. For instance, Pratto et al. (2000) found the scale to be predictive of variables such as conservatism in Canada, China, the US and Taiwan. They conclude from this cross-cultural research that the SDO₆ scale can be successfully administered outside the US.

A first indication of its construct validity is that the correlation coefficient between the SDO₆ and the SDO₅ scales corresponds to the SDO₅ scale's retest-reliability (Pratto et al., 1994). Due to the high correlation with its predecessor, it is predicted that the SDO₆ scale possesses a similar degree of construct validity. The following sections describe those results relating to SDO's construct validity that are relevant to the present validation study.

3.1.3.1 Factor structure

Pratto et al. (1994) assume SDO to be a uniform construct. Using the SDO₅ scale, they were able to show that one factor captures "the bulk of the variance" (p. 68). There was a steep drop in eigenvalues between the first and a second factor. When conducting confirmatory factor analyses, they found that all items indeed loaded significantly on one factor. Sidanius and Pratto (1999) report the same results for the SDO₆ scale. However, they also highlight that in two of their samples two highly correlated factors provided another adequate description for the SDO₆ data. All items that were phrased in the equality direction loaded on one factor (labelled *group-based egalitarianism*) and all of the items phrased in the inequality direction on a second factor (labelled *group-based dominance*). They conclude that, at present, research evidence does not suggest that these two factors should be regarded as independent.

Yet, based on analyses of four samples, Jost and Thompson (2000) come to a different conclusion. They found that two factors provide a better fit for their empirical data than a one factor solution. Jost and Thompson called their dimensions *general opposition to equality* (OEQ) and *group-based dominance* (GBD). They also found the two factors to be correlated, with correlations being higher for high status groups than for low status groups. Self-esteem was not related to GBD, whereas it was negatively related to OEQ for the low status group and positively related

for the high status group. This same relationship also emerged between OEQ and ingroup favouritism. Since it seems as though the two factors have differential effects, Jost and Thompson conclude that SDO should not be regarded as a uniform construct (see also section 2.2.4.2).

3.1.3.2 Correlations with other constructs

Right Wing Authoritarianism

Most of the research that gives an indication about SDO's validity has attempted to distinguish it from Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA). It is for this reason that these results are described in more detail.

RWA has been developed by Altemeyer (1981) and is based on Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford's (1950) Authoritarian Personality Theory. The Authoritarian Personality Theory assumes that an overly strict upbringing engenders individuals to hostility towards authority. At the same time, authority figures are feared as they are perceived as threatening, making it impossible to express the experienced hostility towards them. It is instead converted into an idealisation of authority. The feelings of hostility on the other hand are released towards weaker subjects - so called *scapegoats* - which are often minority groups. Altemeyer's RWA scale is one of the most well-known measures of authoritarianism. In its conceptualisation he assumes RWA to be a personality characteristic that derives from social learning. During their teenage years, children with an overly strict upbringing supposedly develop a personality trait that is characterised by authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression and conventionalism. The development of this trait is based on the child's belief that (a) authorities strive to provide the best for the child and (b) that authorities deserve unconditional obedience.

Although both, SDO and RWA are therefore regarded as personal characteristics that predict dislike of or hostility towards lower status groups, they are not the same. Pratto et al. (1994) for instance argue that the difference between SDO and RWA is that the former becomes evident in intergroup behaviour, whereas the latter relates to intragroup behaviour. This argument is based on Duckitt's (1989) definition of RWA. He perceives it as the tendency to obey authorities within their own group. SDO on the other hand looks at structural relationships between groups (see also Pratto, 1999; Whitley, 1999). Other research has also lent support to the notion that SDO and RWA are two different concepts (Lippa & Arad, 1999; van Hiel & Mervielde, 2002).

If this is the case, the relationship between SDO and RWA should be rather weak. RWA thus serves to establish SDO's discriminant validity. A variety of studies conducted in different societies has looked at the correlation between SDO and RWA scores (see Table 3-3).

Table 3-3: Correlations between SDO and RWA in various samples

Nation	Sample Description	SDO Scale Form	N	Correlation
Australia ⁷	Students	SDO ₅	153	.29**
Belgium ¹³	Adults	14 SDO items (Dutch version)	381	.48**
Belgium ⁶	Students	14 SDO items (Dutch version)	350	.37**
Canada ²	Politicians	8 SDO items	83	.74**
Canada ²	Politicians	6 SDO items	17	.24 [?]
Canada ⁴	Students	SDO ₅	56	.19
England ⁴	Students	SDO ₅	53	.54**
Italy ¹	Students	SDO ₆ (Italian version)	412	.68**
New Zealand ⁴	Students	10 SDO items	484	.37**
New Zealand ⁴	Students	12 SDO items	369	.40**
New Zealand ⁴	Students	SDO ₅	51	.43**
South Africa ⁴	Students	10 SDO items	~220	.21**
United States ³	Parents	SDO ₅	482	.18*
United States ³	Parents	SDO ₅	501	.28**
United States ³	Parents	SDO ₅	331	.24*
United States ¹¹	Parents	10 SDO items	297	.21**
United States ³	Students	SDO ₅	116	.08
United States ³	Students	SDO ₅	362	.11*
United States ³	Students	SDO ₅	354	.22**
United States ⁵	Students	12 SDO items	146	.21*
United States ⁸	Students	8 SDO items	380	.23**
United States ⁹	Students	not mentioned	175	.13
United States ¹⁰	Students	not mentioned	371	.39**
United States ¹¹	Students	10 SDO items	478	.07
United States ¹²	Students	SDO ₅	97	.14
United States ¹⁴	Students	SDO ₅	109	.07 (time 1)
United States ¹⁴	Students	SDO ₅	109	.19*(time 2)

¹Aiello, Leone & Chirumbolo (2003); ²Altemeyer (1996); ³Altemeyer (1998); ⁴Duckitt (2001); ⁵Duckitt et al. (2002); ⁶Duriez & van Hiel (2002); ⁷Heaven & Connors (2001); ⁸Lippa & Arad (1999); ⁹McFarland (1998, in Duckitt, 2001); ¹⁰McFarland (2003); ¹¹McFarland & Adelson (1996; in Duckitt, 2001); ¹²Sidanius & Pratto (1999); ¹³van Hiel & Mervielde (2002); ¹⁴Walter, Thorpe & Kingery (2001)

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; ? = significance level unknown

Walter et al. (2001) summarise such results by declaring that the correlations between SDO and RWA usually range from $r = .14$ to $r = .38$ with most correlations falling below $r = .20$. Table 3-3 shows that Walter et al.'s (2001) observation appears to be correct when limited to studies

conducted in the US. In other societies, the association between SDO and RWA tends to be higher. Aiello et al. (2003), for instance, found a substantial correlation of $r = .68$ between SDO and RWA in Italy. In a study focusing on a small sample of Canadian politicians, Altemeyer (1996) even detected a correlation of $r = .74$. The authors do not provide explanations for these exceptionally strong relationships. Duckitt (2001) assumes that they can be accounted for by differences in the nature of political systems. He assumes that in societies with a strong ideology-based polarisation of political parties on a left-right continuum, the correlation between RWA and SDO will be strong. High RWA and high SDO are associated with the political right whereas low RWA and low SDO are linked to the political left. In systems with a pronounced left-right division, psychological pressures might lead people to adjust their SDO and RWA levels to the same level. Such a division is less pronounced in the US than for instance in Europe. However, although it does exist in South Africa, Duckitt (2001) only found a correlation of $r = .21$ between RWA and SDO.

Tough Mindedness and Social Conformity

Duckitt (2001) suggests that SDO and RWA are both general “social value-attitude-belief dimensions” (p. 53) that are based on different motivational goals. These goals derive from particular worldviews that are associated with specific personality characteristics. The origins of such personality dispositions go back to childhood socialisation practices. Duckitt specifies the distinct conditions that lead to the development of elevated RWA or SDO levels. He assumes that a punitive socialisation creates a conforming personality. This personality contributes to the perception of the world as threatening and dangerous. Such individuals therefore set themselves the goal of regaining social control and security and are authoritarian, that is they score high on the RWA scale. Individuals whose socialisation was characterised by little affection on the other hand are expected to develop tough minded personalities and to consequently adopt the view that the world is based on competition. Their motivational goal is superiority and dominance and this should be reflected in high SDO scores. SDT itself does not state such relationships. Yet, data from Canada, England, New Zealand and South Africa support Duckitt’s model. In all those samples the relationship between social conformity and RWA was stronger than the relationship between social conformity and SDO. The opposite was the case for the relationship between tough mindedness and SDO and tough mindedness and RWA.

Self-Esteem

In order to distinguish SDO from personality variables, Pratto et al. (1994) looked at the relationship between the SDO₅ scale and self-esteem. As predicted by SDT, Pratto et al. (1994) found that the SDO₅ scale was unrelated to self-esteem with an average correlation of $r = -.08$ over nine samples. This corresponds to Pratto (1999), who states that SDO has repeatedly been found to be independent of self-esteem (refer also to Altemeyer, 1998). However, in three of Pratto et al.'s (1994) nine samples a statistically significant negative correlation occurred, which reached a substantial strength in one of them ($r = -.29$). Secondly, when considering the two sub-dimensions of the SDO₆ scale, Jost and Thompson (2000) found that GBD is unrelated to self-esteem whereas OEQ is negatively related to self-esteem for low status groups and positively related for high status groups. This shows that SDT's claim of independence between self-esteem and SDO needs to be refined.

3.1.3.3 Theory consistent group differences

As outlined in the literature review in sections 2.2.3.1 and 2.2.3.4, SDT assumes SDO to reflect the hierarchical order of group relationships in society. The dominant group of males should therefore have higher SDO levels than females. In most cases, research has provided support for this expectation. Lee et al. (2003) however found no gender differences in SDO in Taiwan. SDT also predicts individuals of different ages to have different SDO scores. In particular, a curvilinear relationship between age and SDO is expected. As has been outlined in section 2.2.3.1, SDO levels should first rise with increasing age and then fall again from the age at which participants become dependent on others. Walter et al. (2001) did not find the expected correlation. This could be due to a range restriction in age in their data. The age of their student participants varied between 17 and 48 with most of them being in the lower age groups (mean age: 19.7). Furthermore, SDT predicts that more educated individuals should show lower SDO levels than people who are less educated (Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1994). Altemeyer (1998) however, found no relationship between education and SDO in his Canadian sample. Thus, for all of SDT's predictions regarding group differences in SDO levels, results that do not conform to expectations have been found.

3.1.3.4 Average SDO levels

Generally, the scores on the SDO scale are rather low with means below the midpoint of the scale. Pratto and Shih (2000), for instance, selected high and low SDO university student participants for their experiment on the basis of their previous SDO scores. Specifically, they selected the third of students with the lowest SDO scores and the third of students with the highest SDO scores. In the first of their two experiments, the post-experimental scores of the low SDO group varied between 1 and 2.25 ($M = 1.57$) and those of the high SDO group between 2.31 and 4.88 ($M = 3.26$) on a seven point scale. Thus, even those participants that belonged to the highest third of SDO scorers had an average SDO level that was below the midpoint of the scale. Consequently, the distribution of SDO scores is usually positively skewed, at least among U.S. college students (Pratto, 1999). Pratto (1999) also describes a study involving adult participants from Arkansas. In this sample, the results were not skewed and mean SDO levels were far higher ($M = 3.09$ for males and $M = 2.52$ for females). It could be assumed that college students might have lower SDO scores than a random sample of the population, since the college environment has proven to have hierarchy attenuating capacities (Sinclair et al., 1998). However, the mean scores provided in Table 3-4 do not support this assumption. Student samples and heterogeneous samples have similar SDO levels.

A strong exception to the general result of low SDO scores was evidenced in a study by Green, Sears and Staerkle (2003). They analysed data of a representative population of white Americans living in Los Angeles County employing a 6-item SDO scale. Three items measured Group-Based Domination (GBD) and three items Opposition to Equality (OEQ) (as identified by Jost & Thompson, 2000). On a five point scale, the means were 4.10 ($SD = .94$) for GBD and 3.93 ($SD = .95$) for OEQ. For all six items together the mean was 4.02 ($SD = .76$). No explanation is given as to why the means in this study differ so strongly from means found in other research.

Table 3-4: Average SDO₆ scores (M) and standard deviations (SD) in various samples [on a seven point scale]

Nation	Sample Description	N	M	SD
Canada ⁴	Residents of Vancouver	93	2.76	1.09
Canada ⁷	Students	93	2.71	1.09
Canada ¹	Students	100	2.17	0.95
China ⁷	Students	300	3.27	0.71
Israel ⁴	Heterogeneous sample	162	2.66	0.75
Israel ⁴	Students	303	2.53	0.88
Israel ⁷	Students	705	2.71	1.09
Israel ⁷	Students	181	2.27	0.75
New Zealand ⁸	Heterogeneous sample	158	2.51	0.88
New Zealand ⁷	Students	209	2.25	0.90
Palestine ⁷	Students	159	1.98	0.78
United States ⁷	Bay Area Voters	478	1.85	0.64
United States ⁷	Stratified random sample	706	1.51	0.41
United States ²	Students	823	1.95	0.85
United States ²	Students	113	2.56	1.05
United States ³	Students	294	2.04	0.87
United States ⁵	Students	106	2.43	
United States ⁶	Students	398	1.96	0.85
United States ⁷	Students	823	2.04	0.87
United States ⁷	Students	45	2.15	0.89
United States ⁷	Students	235	2.35	0.82
United States ⁷	Students	103	2.49	0.88
United States ⁷	Students	207	2.39	0.85
United States ⁷	Students	583	2.32	0.95
Average SDO:			2.21	
N = sample size; ¹ Danso & Esses (2001); ² Federico (1998); ³ Levin & Sidanius (1999); ⁴ Pratto et al. (2000); ⁵ Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius & Siers (1997); ⁶ Rabinowitz (1999); ⁷ Sidanius & Pratto (1999); ⁸ Wilson & Liu (2003)				

3.1.4 Summary

Studies in a variety of societies have unequivocally shown a high internal consistency of the SDO₆ scale. With regards to its validity, the results are more ambiguous. Table 3-5 summarises the findings relating to SDO's construct validity that have been outlined in section 3.1.3.

The three studies that looked at SDO in South Africa have not focused on establishing the validity of the SDO₆ scale. It is therefore unclear whether, in this society, the scale measures the same construct as in others. If it is, the results of this research should correspond to SDT's predictions or, at the very least, deviate from these predictions in the same way that they deviate

in other societies. Where possible, the specific hypotheses for this research are formulated according to SDT's assumptions. They are outlined in the following section.

Table 3-5: Results regarding SDO's construct validity		
	SDT's prediction/results	Results differing from SDT found in prior research
Factor structure	unidimensional	two-dimensional
Correlations with other variables		
- Self-esteem	no relationship	negative relationship
- RWA	not related/only small positive relationship	positive relationship of medium size
- Social Conformity	- ¹	no relationship
- Tough Mindedness	- ¹	positive relationship
Theory consistent group differences		
- gender	males higher scores than females	no difference
- age	positive relationship	no relationship
- education	negative relationship	no relationship
Average SDO levels	- ¹	below midpoint of the scale
¹ '-' indicates that no prediction has been made or that the prediction has not been tested		

3.2 Hypotheses

Based on the research described in the previous sections, the following hypotheses with regards to SDO are postulated.

3.2.1 Reliability

As outlined in section 3.1.2, the scale has shown good internal consistency in various societies. The same result is therefore expected to emerge in South African samples.

Hypothesis 1:

The SDO₆ scale has high internal consistency.

3.2.2 Construct Validity

- **Factor Structure**

SDT itself assumes that a single factor is able to describe the items of the SDO₆ scale (see section 3.1.3.1). This is expected to also hold true for the current data set.

Hypothesis 2:

The items of the SDO₆ scale can be reduced to a single factor.

- **Correlations with Other Constructs**

Although a few studies have found SDO to be rather strongly related to RWA, SDT itself does not postulate such a relationship (see section 3.1.3.2). The hypothesis is therefore that, at most, a weak correlation between the two variables will occur.

Hypothesis 3:

There is no or only a weak relationship between RWA and SDO

Although SDT does not include the variable of Tough Mindedness in its theory, Duckitt (2001) was able to support his claim that SDO and not RWA is related to Tough Mindedness. The postulated model also held true in a South African sample (see section 3.1.3.2). It is therefore expected that the same relationships will be found in the current study.

Hypothesis 4:

There is a positive relationship between SDO and Tough Mindedness.

Duckitt (2001) has also been able to render support to his assumption that RWA and not SDO is related to Social Conformity (see section 3.1.3.2). The same is expected to occur in the sample used in the present study.

Hypothesis 5:

There is no relationship between SDO and Social Conformity.

SDT does expect no relationship between SDO and self-esteem (see section 3.1.3.2). A non-significant correlation between the two variables is therefore predicted.

Hypothesis 6:

SDO and self-esteem are unrelated.

- **Theory Consistent Group Differences**

Due to the relationships outlined in section 3.1.3.3, in the present study, the following hypotheses will be tested with regards to theory consistent group differences.

Hypothesis 7:

Males have higher scores on the SDO₆ scale than females.

Hypothesis 8:

SDO scores are lower for individuals with higher education.

SDT expects a curvilinear relationship between age and SDO. SDO levels are expected to rise until individuals cease being able to live independently (see section 3.1.3.3). In South Africa, this

is frequently the case when a person leaves the work environment, since retirement is often linked to financial instability. As the retirement age lies around the age of 60, a linear relationship between age and SDO can be assumed until that age. The hypothesis relating to age therefore states:

Hypothesis 9:

Up to the age of 60 there is a positive relationship between age and SDO

3.3 Method

3.3.1 Sample and Procedure

A total of 773 participants completed the provided questionnaire scales satisfactorily, that is they answered at least 75% of the items on each scale. Data collection took place in the Cape Town Metropolitan Region between October 2002 and May 2003. A description of the sample's age and race composition is provided in Table 3-6.

Table 3-6: Sample structure

Age Group	Race Group	Number
13-18	Black ¹	101
	Coloured ²	107
	White ³	98
19-25	Black	80
	Coloured	57
	White	70
> 25	Black	76
	Coloured	99
	White	85
Total	Black	257
	Coloured	263
	White	253
Overall Total		773

¹ = of African descent; ² = of mixed racial descent; ³ = of European descent
see Chapter 5.1 for an overview of the race situation in South Africa

Participants' ages ranged from 13 to 76 with an average of 25.77 years (SD = 12.57). A total of 60% (464) of the participants were female, 39.8% (307) male and two participants did not provide their gender (0.3%). Of those participants who indicated that they had completed their school education, 63.8% (247) possessed or were acquiring a tertiary education at the time of data collection while 28.9% (112) had no tertiary education. A total of 28 participants (7.2%) did not answer this item. Female participants and participants with tertiary education were therefore overrepresented.

Non-probability sampling was employed in obtaining the data. It was collected from various sources, such as high schools, hospitals and the University of Cape Town. Another group of

participants was recruited by research assistants. The precise procedure of data collection for each source is described in the following sections.

1) High Schools

Permission had been granted by the Western Cape Department of Education to approach twelve schools in different regions of the Cape Peninsula (see Appendix A-1 for the letter of approval). A copy of the questionnaire and an outline of the research were sent to the principals of all 12 schools. Of these, seven agreed to participate. Whereas one school declined participation due to the high amount of research projects that had already taken place during that academic year, the four remaining schools felt uncomfortable about the research topic. Table 3-7 shows the number of participants drawn from each of these schools.

Table 3-7: Number of participants per school and racial self-categorisation			
Area		No. of Participants	
School 1	City Bowl	Black:	0
		Coloured:	1
		White:	6
School 2	City Bowl	Black:	7
		Coloured:	10
		White:	0
School 3	Southern Suburbs	Black:	0
		Coloured:	5
		White:	8
School 4	Cape Flats	Black:	112
		Coloured:	0
		White:	0
School 5	Cape Flats	Black:	1
		Coloured:	78
		White:	0
School 6	Northern Suburbs	Black:	0
		Coloured:	11
		White:	41
School 7	Northern Suburbs	Black:	0
		Coloured:	4
		White:	46
		Total:	330

All but two of the schools decided to let the questionnaires be administered by the class teachers. In those cases, participants completed the surveys in class during teaching time. In School 3, volunteers were asked to participate during tutorial time and the surveys were distributed by the researcher. In School 4, with predominantly Xhosa speaking students, eight research assistants

distributed and explained the questionnaires during class time (see section 3.3.2 for specific issues regarding the Xhosa questionnaires).

2) Hospital Staff

After the Ethics Committee of the teaching hospital of the University of Cape Town had approved the research project, permission to distribute questionnaires among staff members was requested and granted by the management of five government hospitals in different regions of the Cape Town Metropolitan Area (see Table 3-8). An additional sixth hospital declined to participate. The hospital setting as a source for data collection was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, hospitals employ a variety of staff members with various educational backgrounds, ranging from cleaning staff to porters, secretaries, nurses and medical doctors. It is therefore possible to draw a diverse sample. Secondly, due to the high numbers of staff, the hospital setting provides access to a substantial pool of potential participants.

Table 3-8: Number of participants per hospital and racial self-categorisation

Area		No. of Participants	
Hospital 1	Northern Suburbs	Black:	6
		Coloured:	32
		White:	12
Hospital 2	Southern Suburbs	Black:	2
		Coloured:	18
		White:	23
Hospital 3	Southern Suburbs	Black:	4
		Coloured:	10
		White:	6
Hospital 4	Southern Suburbs	Black:	7
		Coloured:	16
		White:	6
Hospital 5	Southern Suburbs	Black:	2
		Coloured:	8
		White:	17
		Total:	169

In four of the five hospitals, the researcher and between one and four research assistants distributed the questionnaires. Usually the head of a ward or unit was approached and asked to distribute and collect the questionnaires in his or her area of responsibility. A date for collection was arranged between the contact person and the researcher/research assistant. In Hospital 1, the hospital management itself arranged the distribution of questionnaires.

A problem with the hospital setting is that it is a caring and thus hierarchy-attenuating environment. Pratto et al. (1994) showed that SDO levels are lower in individuals that occupy hierarchy-attenuating social roles. The SDO levels in participants working in hospitals might therefore be lower than for people that are employed in other sectors. On the other hand, the medical professions themselves are structured in a group-based stratification system. There are clear hierarchies, with medical doctors, for instance, being superior to nurses. It is therefore equally conceivable that hospitals attract those individuals that desire group-based hierarchies and thus have high SDO scores.

3) University Students

University students participating in an undergraduate psychology course at the University of Cape Town were asked to complete the questionnaire during lecture time. In total, 61 participants are included from this source (1 Black, 9 Coloured and 51 White participants).

4.) Research Assistants

Research assistants were also asked to distribute questionnaires among their family and friends in their communities, as well as on campus, in the streets, at the airport, at functions and in community centres. They were specifically advised to sample participants with specific demographic criteria that were still missing in the sample. As an incentive, each person who satisfactorily completed a questionnaire was given the opportunity to participate in a R500 lucky draw. A total of 213 participants in the sample were recruited in this way (115 Black, 61 Coloured and 37 White participants).

The time for completion of the questionnaire varied widely. Whereas some participants were finished within ten minutes, others took more than thirty minutes.

3.3.2 Measures

A self-explanatory questionnaire was developed in English and translated and then back-translated into Afrikaans and Xhosa by native speakers of those languages (see Appendix A2-A4 for copies of the different language versions). For the Afrikaans form, parts that had been used in South African research by Duckitt (2001) were obtained from the author, back-translated into English by a native Afrikaans speaker in order to check for equivalence and adapted where necessary.

The questionnaires were thus available in the predominant languages of the Cape Metropolitan Region (Statistics South Africa, 2003). This served to ensure that each participant was able to receive the survey in the language he or she felt most comfortable with.

Difficulties were encountered with the Xhosa form of the questionnaire. Firstly, the structure of the Xhosa language is very different to English or Afrikaans. Contextual information is often crucial in order to determine a word's specific meaning. Secondly, Xhosa is mainly a spoken language. Even though the language officially has equal status to English and Afrikaans, written material, such as newspapers and books, are often available in English and Afrikaans only. Consequently, some participants voiced that they were not familiar with written Xhosa. For these reasons participants were encouraged to complete an Afrikaans or English questionnaire, whenever they spoke either Afrikaans or English in addition to Xhosa. Xhosa speaking research assistants who were familiar with the English and/or Afrikaans forms assisted those participants that had opted to complete the questionnaire in Xhosa. The breakdown of participants who completed English, Afrikaans and Xhosa questionnaires is provided in Table 3-9.

Table 3-9: Number of participants completing English, Afrikaans or Xhosa questionnaire by race group

	English	Afrikaans	Xhosa	Total
Black	116	1	140	257
Coloured	171	91	1	263
White	138	115	0	253
Total	425	207	141	773

The questionnaire was introduced as a survey on various social issues and consisted of the following six sections:

1. Demographic information (7 items)
2. Social Dominance Orientation (16 items)
3. Right Wing Authoritarianism (14 items)
4. Tough Mindedness (20 items)
5. Social Conformity (14 items)
6. Self-Esteem (10 items)

Each of the measures is described in sections 3.3.2.1 to 3.3.2.6.

3.3.2.1 Demographic information

Participants were first asked to state their year of birth and gender, followed by the racial classification of their parents under Apartheid law. It was hoped that the question would sound less offensive when phrased in that way than when directly asking for a person's race. Participants also indicated their religion and nationality. If the nationality was other than South African, they were asked to specify how long they had been living in the country. Participants also provided their highest school level and indicated whether they were still at school. The final item assessed whether participants had tertiary education and their current occupation.

3.3.2.2 SDO

Participants' SDO was assessed with Pratto et al.'s (1994) SDO₆ scale. Participants were required to indicate their degree of agreement to sixteen statements on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; see Table 3-10).

Table 3-10: Items of the SDO₆ scale as introduced by Pratto et al. (1994)

Instructions: Below is a series of statements with which you may either agree or disagree. For each statement, please indicate the degree of your agreement/disagreement by circling the appropriate number from "1" to "7". Once again, remember that your first responses are usually the most accurate.

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
9. It would be good if groups could be equal. *
10. Group equality should be our ideal. *
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life. *
12. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups. *
13. Increased social equality. *
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally. *
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible. *
16. No one group should dominate in society. *

* Items need to be reverse coded

As outlined in section 2.2.4.2, the scale assesses how much inequality a person desires with regard to any form of group relationships. Half the items are phrased in the inequality direction (items 1 to 8) the other half in the equality direction. This second half needs to be reverse-coded (items 9-16). A high SDO score thus indicates a high desire for inequality between groups.

3.3.2.3 RWA

Duckitt's (1990) 14-item scale was employed in order to measure RWA. In this scale, participants were required to respond to statements on a 9-point Likert scale (1 = *very strongly disagree*; 9 = *very strongly agree*). It includes items such as "There is nothing immoral or sick in somebody being a homosexual." (item 2). Items 2, 4, 7, 10, 11, 13 and 14 are phrased in the non-authoritarian direction in order to protect the scale against response acquiescence. Those items need to be reverse scored. A high score thus indicates a high level of authoritarianism. This particular RWA scale was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, it is a short measure of RWA and secondly, it has been developed in South Africa, where it has shown good reliability and validity for White South African university students. Duckitt generated the scale in 1984 based on Altemeyer's (1981) RWA measure. All items load on one factor. The internal consistency measured as Cronbach α was .89 in a first and .88 in a second study (Duckitt, 1990). In Durrheim's (1995) research, the scale's reliability was .75.

The scale also possesses adequate construct validity in that it correlates in the expected direction with various self-ratings and measures of prejudice. These correlations were comparable with the ones obtained with Altemeyer's (1981) long form of the scale (Duckitt, 1990).

3.3.2.4 Tough Mindedness

A 20-item scale developed by Duckitt (2001) served to assess tough mindedness. In addition to six items of Goertzel's (1987) tough mindedness versus tender mindedness scale, Duckitt created 14 new items. Half the items assess tough mindedness, the other half tender mindedness. The latter need to be reverse-scored (items 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 18). Participants were required to rate the extent to which they feel that adjectives such as *cynical* and *moralistic* described their personality and behaviour on 9-point rating scales (1 = *most uncharacteristic/very strongly disagree*; 9 = *most characteristic/very strongly agree*). A high score thus indicates tough mindedness as opposed to tender mindedness. In a South African sample consisting of White Afrikaans students, the α coefficient for this scale was .88.

3.3.2.5 Social Conformity

Social conformity was measured by a 14-item scale developed by Duckitt (2001). It is an adaptation of Saucier's (1994) norm orientation scale. The instructions and response format are identical to the tough mindedness scale described in the previous section. The items of the social conformity scale correspond to items 21 to 34 in the fourth section of the questionnaire (Appendix A-2). Items 21, 22, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32 are phrased in the non-conformity direction and need to be reverse-scored. A high score indicates strong social conformity. In the South African sample described in section 3.3.2.4 the internal consistency of this scale was .72 (Cronbach α).

3.3.2.6 Self-Esteem

Rosenberg's scale was used in order to assess self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965). It is a 10-item scale with a 4-point response format (1 = *strongly disagree*; 4 = *strongly agree*). Rosenberg assumes this scale to be one-dimensional. Participants were asked to indicate their agreement with statements such as "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself" (item 1). Five items are negatively worded and need to be reverse-coded (items 2, 5, 6, 8, 9). The scale has been employed by other SDT researchers (e.g. Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a) and in South Africa. Bornman (1999), for instance, used the scale in order to predict ethnic identification among White South Africans and Black South African participants. She found that the scale was better described by two weakly correlated factors. The positively worded items loaded on one factor, the negatively worded items on the second. One item with an item-total correlation of below .25 for her Black participants was discarded from the analysis ("I wish I could have more respect for myself"; item 8). The remaining 4-item negative self-esteem subscale reached internal consistencies of .67 for Black participants and .77 for White participants. The respective internal consistencies for the positive self-esteem subscale were .77 (Black participants) and .75 (White participants). It was therefore considered that the current research could reveal two dimensions of self-esteem instead of the originally assumed one dimensionality.

3.3.3 Data Analysis

Unless otherwise indicated all statistical analyses were performed with *SPSS for Windows, Release 11.0.1*.

3.4 Results

The results section starts with a presentation of the descriptive findings as well as the results referring to the structure and consistency of all measures used in this study. Only the respective results for the SDO₆ scale are not included. Since this information serves to investigate some of the hypotheses, it will be presented in section 3.4.5 together with all other results relating to the hypotheses.

3.4.1 RWA

3.4.1.1 Structure and consistency

A principal component analysis was conducted in order to determine the scale's structure. Here, and in all other analyses in this thesis, all factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 are reported (Kaiser, 1970). Three factors emerged. All items phrased in the authoritarian direction had loadings of at least .59 on the first factor (eigenvalue: 2.81; 20.06% explained variance). All items phrased in the non-authoritarian direction loaded positively on the second factor (eigenvalue: 1.84; 13.14% explained variance; lowest factor loading: .13; see Appendix B-1 for all factor loadings). The third factor had an eigenvalue of 1.16 (8.30% explained variance).

Consequently, the internal consistency for the complete scale was rather low (Cronbach $\alpha = .56$; $n = 717$; see Appendix B-2 for item-total correlations). After a stepwise reduction of all items phrased in the non-authoritarian direction, the internal consistency increased to $\alpha = .72$ ($n = 736$), reducing the RWA scale to a seven item scale (refer to Appendix B-3 for item-total correlations). The reliability of this reduced seven item scale was lower than the reliability originally found by Duckitt (1990) for the 14 item scale but resembled that found by Durrheim (1995).

The internal consistencies of the different language versions were $\alpha = .77$ for the English version ($n = 410$) and $\alpha = .70$ for the Afrikaans form ($n = 198$). With $\alpha = .58$ ($n = 128$) the internal consistency for the Xhosa questionnaire was substantially lower than for the other two languages. This could be due to the problems regarding the Xhosa form of the questionnaire as mentioned in section 3.3.2. Since English was the language in which the scale had originally been formulated, it is not surprising that the English scale had the highest internal consistency.

The internal consistency of the RWA scale among the three different racial groups was confounded with language version (see Table 3-9). However, the internal consistencies for all groups were rather similar, indicating that the low reliability of the Xhosa version had no detrimental effects on the scale's reliability for Black participants (Blacks: $\alpha = .70$; $n = 111$; Coloureds: $\alpha = .72$; $n = 166$ and Whites: $\alpha = .75$; $n = 246$).

3.4.1.2 Descriptive data

With 4.71 ($SD = 1.19$; $n = 748$) the average RWA score was close to the scale's midpoint of 5, indicating that participants were neither particularly authoritarian nor non-authoritarian.

3.4.2 Tough Mindedness

3.4.2.1 Structure and consistency

A principal component analysis provided five factors with eigenvalues above 1 (see Table 3-11 for eigenvalues and explained variances).

Table 3-11: Eigenvalues and explained variances for factors describing the tough mindedness items

	eigenvalue	explained variance
Factor 1	5.57	27.86
Factor 2	2.62	13.08
Factor 3	1.36	6.77
Factor 4	1.29	6.46
Factor 5	1.00	5.00

All items loaded at least at .15 on the first factor. According to Hair, Anderson, Tatham and Grablovsky (1979) a factor loading of .15 is sufficient in order for it to be significant on the 1% level in a sample with a size of at least 300. It was therefore reasonable to assume that the scale was unidimensional (refer to Appendix B-4 for factor loadings).

Reliability analyses using Cronbach α showed that the internal consistency of the scale was good ($\alpha = .85$; $n = 666$) with item-total correlations of higher than .20 for all items but *tough minded* (refer to Appendix B-5 for all item-total correlations). Since deleting this item would have

resulted in a minimal increase of .005 in the scale's consistency, it was decided to keep it in the scale. The internal consistency thus corresponded to the one found by Duckitt (2001) for White Afrikaans speaking South African students.

The internal consistencies were equally high for all three language versions (English: $\alpha = .83$; $n = 371$; Afrikaans, $\alpha = .86$; $n = 179$, Xhosa: $\alpha = .86$; $n = 116$) and all three race groups (Black $\alpha = .85$, $n = 207$; Coloured $\alpha = .81$, $n = 222$; White: $\alpha = .88$, $n = 237$).

3.4.2.2 Descriptive data

On average, participants had a score of 3.32 (SD: 1.18; $n = 773$) on the tough mindedness scale. With a scale midpoint of 5 this result indicated that participants were generally more tender than tough minded.

3.4.3 Social Conformity

3.4.3.1 Structure and consistency

The dimensionality of the social conformity scale was again determined by a principal component analysis. It revealed four factors with eigenvalues above 1 (see Table 3-12 for eigenvalues and explained variances).

Table 3-12: Eigenvalues and explained variances for factors describing the social conformity items

	eigenvalue	explained variance
Factor 1	3.101	22.154
Factor 2	1.912	13.655
Factor 3	1.566	11.183
Factor 4	1.232	8.801

Since all items had significant loadings on the first factor (lowest factor loading = .24), unidimensionality of the social conformity scale could be assumed (refer to Appendix B-6 for all factor loadings).

The reliability analysis provided a Cronbach α of .72 ($n = 685$). All items loaded significantly on one factor (see Appendix B-7 for item-total correlations).

Again, the internal consistency was also established for the three language versions of the survey and the three race groups. The English and Xhosa forms yielded adequate consistencies (English: $\alpha = .71$; $n = 382$; Xhosa: $\alpha = .73$; $n = 121$). The Afrikaans version however had a much lower internal consistency ($\alpha = .59$; $n = 182$). For Black and White participants the social conformity scale had an adequate reliability (Black $\alpha = .73$, $n = 214$; White: $\alpha = .75$, $n = 238$). For Coloured participants the reliability was rather low ($\alpha = .60$, $n = 233$). This is despite the fact that only 34.6% of the Coloured participants completed the Afrikaans version of the questionnaire. It was thus unlikely that the scale's low reliability for Coloured participants was due to the low consistency of the Afrikaans scale. In fact, when only those participants that completed the English questionnaire form were included in the reliability analysis, the internal consistency of the scale for Coloured participants was only marginally higher ($\alpha = .64$, $n = 160$).

In summary, the scale's reliability corresponded to that previously found in South Africa for all language versions but the Afrikaans form and for all participants but the group of Coloured participants (Duckitt, 2001).

3.4.3.2 Descriptive data

The average social conformity score amounted to 5.55 (SD: 1.14; $n = 773$) and was thus above the midpoint of the scale (5), meaning that, on average, participants characterised themselves as slightly more socially conformant than non-conformant.

3.4.4 Self Esteem

3.4.4.1 Structure and consistency

A principal component analysis revealed three factors with eigenvalues above 1 for the ten items of the Rosenberg Self Esteem scale (first factor: eigenvalue = 3.10; explained variance = 31.02%; second factor: eigenvalue = 1.51; explained variance: 14.12%; third factor: eigenvalue 1.04; explained variance: 10.35%). All items loaded significantly on the first factor (lowest factor loading = .37; Appendix B-8 shows all factor loadings).

The internal consistency of the scale amounted to $\alpha = .74$ ($n = 748$). The lowest item-total correlation was .29 for item 8 ("I wish I could have more respect for myself"; refer to Appendix B-9 for all item-total correlations). Again, the scale's reliability was also determined for each language version and for all race groups separately. Whereas the reliability was comparable for the English and Afrikaans form of the scale (English: $\alpha = .76$; $n = 412$; Afrikaans: $\alpha = .78$; $n = 203$), it was much lower for the Xhosa version ($\alpha = .62$; $n = 133$). The influence of the low reliability of the Xhosa questionnaire was reflected in the internal consistency of the responses of Black participants ($\alpha = .62$; $n = 241$). However, of the Black participants only 54.4% completed the Xhosa version. Since the Black participants that completed the English questionnaire did not pull the internal consistency of the self-esteem scale above that of the Xhosa version, this could indicate that the low reliability of the Xhosa form was caused rather by the low reliability of the scale among Black participants than by the language form per se. Indeed, when only including those Black participants that completed the English version in the reliability analysis, the internal consistency increased only marginally to $\alpha = .65$ ($n = 108$).

For Coloured participants the scale's consistency was acceptable ($\alpha = .76$, $n = 260$). It was even better for the White participants ($\alpha = .82$; $n = 247$). The results regarding the scale's reliability thus very closely resembled those found by Bornman (1999) (see section 3.3.2.6).

3.4.4.2 Descriptive data

The average self-esteem score lay at 3.14 ($SD = .50$; $n = 773$) and thus above the scale's midpoint of 2.5. This indicated that in general participants had a rather high self-esteem.

3.4.5 Hypotheses

3.4.5.1 Reliability

Hypothesis 1: The SDO₆ scale has high internal consistency.

The internal consistency analysis was based on the data of 741 participants. Cronbach's α for the complete scale was .83. The corrected item-total correlation was high for all items, except for items number 1 ("Some groups of people are simply inferior to others") and 15 ("We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible"). However, since these correlations were above .15, they were still significant on the 1% level (Hair et al., 1979, see Table 3-13).

Table 3-13: Corrected item total correlation for items of the SDO₆ scale

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	.24
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.	.37
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.	.48
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	.42
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.	.49
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.	.56
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.	.54
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	.52
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.	.46
10. Group equality should be our ideal.	.51
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.	.43
12. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.	.58
13. Increased social equality.	.53
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.	.46
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.	.26
16. No one group should dominate in society.	.48

The scale's reliability was also determined for different demographic groups. With the exception of the Xhosa version the reliabilities of the scale were comparable and adequate for each subgroup (see Table 3-14).

Table 3-14: The internal consistency (α) of the SDO₆ scale and its two subscales OEQ and GBD for the three language versions and various demographic subgroups

Category		N	α SDO ₆	N	α GBD ¹	N	α OEQ ²
Language	English	409	.83	417	.79	416	.83
	Afrikaans	196	.87	201	.85	201	.87
	Xhosa	136	.67	139	.57	138	.76
Gender	Male	301	.84	303	.77	303	.82
	Female	438	.82	452	.81	450	.84
Race	Black	240	.75	249	.67	247	.79
	Coloured	255	.83	259	.81	259	.84
	White	246	.89	249	.85	249	.87
Age	13-18	306	.83	306	.77	306	.80
	19-25	196	.80	201	.72	201	.82
	> 25	239	.82	250	.84	248	.86
Education	Tertiary	240	.82	248	.80	245	.80
	No tertiary	105	.79	108	.81	108	.89

N = number of cases; ¹ α over all participants = .80; n = 757; ² α over all participants = .83; n = 755

Judging by the reliabilities in Table 3-14 it seemed as if the scale was more reliable for White and Coloured South Africans than for Black South Africans. However, when conducting the reliability analysis with only those participants who had completed the English questionnaire form, reliability differences between race groups disappeared (Black: $\alpha = .82$; Coloured: $\alpha = .83$; White: $\alpha = .84$). The lower reliability for Black participants in the complete sample was therefore caused by the low reliability of the Xhosa questionnaires. All subsequent analyses were accordingly performed for the complete sample and for only those participants that had completed the English language version, whenever the results in the Xhosa form deviated from those found in the English and Afrikaans versions. This served to determine whether the lower reliability of the Xhosa SDO₆ scale had an influence on the results for Black participants.

In summary, the analyses allowed for the conclusion that the English and Afrikaans SDO₆ scales had good internal consistency in the present sample. The reliability of the Xhosa scale was substantially lower than for the two other language versions. Yet, reliabilities in the range of the Xhosa scale are not uncommon. They had previously been found in China and Taiwan (see Table 3-2). The internal consistency of the SDO₆ scale for the complete sample corresponded to the scale's reliability generally found in other societies and in South Africa by Duckitt (2001), Duckitt et al. (2002) and Heaven et al. (2000), using derivations of the SDO₆ scale.

3.4.5.2 Construct validity

• Factor Structure

Hypothesis 2: The items of the SDO₆ scale can be reduced to a single factor.

In order to explore the factor structure of the SDO₆ scale, an exploratory principal component analysis was conducted. It revealed four factors. Two of those had eigenvalues of just above 1. As found by Sidanius and Pratto (1999), the first factor captured the bulk of the variance (31.26%; eigenvalue = 5.00; second factor: explained variance = 14.82%; eigenvalue = 2.37; third factor: explained variance: 6.51%, eigenvalue 1.04; fourth factor: explained variance: 6.30%, eigenvalue: 1.01). All items had positive factor loadings of at least .24 on the first factor and according to Hair et al. (1979) thus loaded significantly on this factor (see Appendix B-10 for factor loadings). These results suggested that a one factor solution would be appropriate.

In order to explore whether this was indeed the case, a confirmatory factor analysis was performed using the statistical package STATISTICA, version 6.1. Employing Bentler and Bonett's (1980) rule of thumb of .90 as the minimum acceptable fit index level, a one factor

solution did not lead to an adequate fit. Jöreskog's GFI provided a fit index of .737. It was for this reason that the possibility that a two factor solution, as suggested by Jost and Thompson (2000), would offer a better fit was tested. All items phrased in the inequality direction were forced to load on one factor labelled *group-based dominance* (GBD). All items phrased in the equality direction were assumed to belong to the second, *general opposition to equality* (OEQ), factor. This two factor model provided a better fit to the data (GFI = .920). The difference in adequacy of fit between the one- and the two-factor solution was statistically significant ($\Delta\chi^2_1 = 857.26$; $p < .00$). The two factors were correlated at $r = .32$ ($p < .00$).

The same procedures as for the complete sample were also applied to the different sample subgroups. The results of the confirmatory and exploratory factor analyses are provided in Table 3-15.

In general, the results did not provide strong support for the hypothesised uni-dimensionality of the SDO₆ scale. Although it could be argued that a one factor solution was adequate for the complete sample as well as for some subgroups based on the results of the exploratory factor analyses, the confirmatory factor analyses showed that in all cases, a two factor solution provided a better fit. Consequently, in all further analyses, results will be reported separately for the complete SDO₆ scale and its two subscales OEQ and GBD (see Table 3-14 for internal consistencies of the OEQ and GBD subscale).

Table 3-15: Confirmatory and exploratory factor analyses of the SDO₆ scale

Category		Factor Analysis			Exploratory	
		1 factor	2 factors	Difference in fit		
Language	English	GFI=.750	GFI=.783	$\chi^2_1 = 31.115^{**}$	5.09 ¹	(31.84%) ^{2,3}
					2.28	(14.22%)
					1.27	(7.91%)
					1.11	(6.90%)
	Afrikaans	GFI=.608	GFI=.858	$\chi^2_1 = 365.926^{**}$	5.72	(35.75%) ⁴
					2.82	(17.60%)
	Xhosa	GFI=.791	GFI=.833	$\chi^2_1 = 48.783^{**}$	no consistent loading structure	
Gender	Male	GFI=.793	GFI=.907	$\chi^2_1 = 222.418^{**}$	5.14	(32.15%) ⁵
					1.92	(11.98%)
					1.12	(7.01%)
	Female	GFI=.685	GFI=.898	$\chi^2_1 = 663.294^{**}$	4.83	(30.19%) ⁶
					2.77	(17.30%)
					1.16	(7.24%)
Race	Black	GFI=.786	GFI=.898	$\chi^2_1 = 145.469^{**}$	no consistent loading structure	
	Coloured	GFI=.675	GFI=.878	$\chi^2_1 = 365.220^{**}$	5.00	(31.25%) ⁷
					2.53	(15.83%)
					1.18	(7.38%)
	White	GFI=.679	GFI=.878	$\chi^2_1 = 334.465^{**}$	6.35	(39.70%) ⁸
					2.26	(14.10%)
Age	13-18	GFI=.767	GFI=.886	$\chi^2_1 = 247.711^{**}$	1.08	(6.75%)
					4.75	(29.69%) ⁹
					2.10	(13.10%)
	19-25	GFI=.780	GFI=.876	$\chi^2_1 = 136.501^{**}$	1.23	(7.66%)
					no consistent loading structure	
					4.82	(30.12%) ¹⁰
Education	> 25	GFI=.598	GFI=.873	$\chi^2_1 = 548.117^{**}$	3.42	(21.37%)
					1.09	(6.82%)
					4.92	(30.72%) ¹¹
	Tertiary	GFI=.765	GFI=.921	$\chi^2_1 = 606.541^{**}$	2.27	(14.20%)
					1.17	(7.30%)
					no consistent loading structure	
	No tertiary	GFI=.576	GFI=.812	$\chi^2_1 = 256.979^{**}$	no consistent loading structure	

** = $p < .01$; ¹ = eigenvalue; ² = amount of explained variance; ³ = all items load on this factor; minimum loading .22; ⁴ = all items load on this factor; minimum loading .33; ⁵ = all items load on this factor; minimum loading .17; ⁶ = all items load on this factor; minimum loading .28; ⁷ = minimum loading .28; ⁸ = all items load on this factor; minimum loading .42; ⁹ = all items load on this factor; minimum loading .24; ¹⁰ = all items load on this factor; minimum loading .29; ¹¹ = all items load on this factor; minimum loading .38

• Correlation with Other Constructs

Hypothesis 3: There is no or only a weak relationship between RWA and SDO.

In order to test for the relationship between SDO and RWA a Pearson product-moment correlation was performed. In line with the hypothesis, no significant relationship between the seven item RWA scale and the SDO₆ scale was found ($r = -.06$; $p = .11$; $n = 773$). However, the non-significant correlation with the complete SDO₆ scale was caused by a positive correlation between RWA and GBD ($r = .14$; $p < .00$) and a negative correlation between RWA and OEQ ($r = -.27$; $p < .00$). This showed that individuals with higher RWA supported own group dominance but rejected inequality in general. The same correlations were also performed for the different subgroups in the sample. The results are displayed in Table 3-16.

Table 3-16: Correlation coefficients between RWA and SDO, RWA and OEQ and RWA and GBD for various sample subgroups

		Correlation: RWA and...			
Category		N	...SDO	...GBD	...OEQ
Language	English	425	.04	.24**	-.23**
	Afrikaans	207	-.07	.12	-.27**
	Xhosa	141	-.36**	-.11	-.41**
Gender	Male	307	-.11	.05	-.24**
	Female	464	-.03	.19**	-.30**
Race	Black	257	-.32**	-.06	-.45**
	Coloured	263	-.10	.09	-.32**
	White	253	.15*	.27**	-.02
Age	13-18	306	-.15*	.06	-.27**
	19-25	207	-.15*	.06	-.32**
	> 25	260	.11	.32**	-.24**
Education	Tertiary	253	.08	.26**	-.19**
	No tertiary	112	-.09	.14	-.32**

N = number of participants; * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$
 high scores indicate high authoritarianism and high SDO/GBD/OEQ

There appeared a rather inconsistent set of correlations. Whereas for most subgroups there was no correlation between RWA and the complete SDO₆ scale, this correlation was negative for participants taking the Xhosa version, for Black participants and for the two youngest age groups. The correlations between RWA and GBD were equally diverse. Whereas a positive correlation was revealed for the English questionnaire versions, female and White participants as well as for the older age group and participants with tertiary education, for all other subgroups

there was no statistically significant correlation. The most consistent results were found regarding the relationship between RWA and OEQ. For all but for the subgroup of White participants this relationship was negative, indicating that the more authoritarian people are, the less they are opposed to equality in general.

Since the Xhosa version of the SDO₆ scale had yielded rather low internal consistencies, the same correlations were also performed including only those participants that had completed the English form of the questionnaire. In order to keep the influence of questionnaire language constant, the English form was used since it is the only version that has been completed by a larger number of participants from each race group. The results are shown in Table 3-17.

Table 3-17: Correlation coefficients between RWA and SDO, RWA and OEQ and RWA and GBD for various sample subgroups for English questionnaire version only

		Correlation: RWA and...			
Category		N	...SDO	...GBD	...OEQ
Gender	Male	167	-.04	.18*	-.32**
	Female	257	.10	.27**	-.17**
Race	Black	116	-.20*	.04	-.45**
	Coloured	171	-.04	.11	-.23**
	White	138	.15	.28**	-.03
Age	13-18	99	-.10	.11	-.32**
	19-25	151	-.10	.10	-.28**
	> 25	175	.20**	.35**	-.15
Education	Tertiary	199	.13	.30**	-.13
	No tertiary	89	-.10	.12	-.33**

N = number of participants; * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$;
high scores indicate high authoritarianism and high SDO/GBD/OEQ

As can be seen from Table 3-17, the correlations did not change substantially if only those participants that completed the English version were included. Some correlations changed in strength. Due to the lower sample sizes, some low correlations were no longer significant, but the direction of the relationship remained the same. The only exceptions were the correlations between RWA and GBD for males and between RWA and SDO for participants over the age of 25. Whereas these correlations were not statistically significant in the complete sample, they were positive if only the English questionnaires were considered. In summary, it can be concluded that the language version of the questionnaire did not seem to have had a major influence on the relationship between RWA and SDO, GBD and OEQ.

In accordance with the hypothesis, no correlation between RWA and SDO was found in the complete sample. For White participants, there was a low positive correlation between the two variables. In contradiction to the hypothesis and to previous research findings, a negative relationship between RWA and SDO was found for Black participants and 13 to 25 year old participants. The relationship between GBD and RWA was non-significant to positive, and with the exception of White participants the relationship between RWA and OEQ was negative. The hypothesis thus generally received support unless the scale was assumed to be two-dimensional. In that case, differential effects of RWA on OEQ and GBD occurred.

Hypothesis 4: There is a positive relationship between SDO and tough mindedness.

Again, Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated to test this hypothesis. A positive correlation between tough mindedness and SDO, as well as with OEQ and GBD resulted (SDO: $r = .35$; $p < .00$; OEQ: $r = .31$; $p < .00$; GBD: $r = .27$; $p < .00$; all n 's = 773). These relationships were also determined for different subgroups of the sample (see Table 3-18).

Table 3-18: Correlation coefficients between tough mindedness and SDO, tough mindedness and GBD and tough mindedness and OEQ for various sample subgroups

		Correlation: tough mindedness and...			
Category		N	...SDO	...GBD	...OEQ
Language	English	425	.36**	.31**	.27**
	Afrikaans	207	.47**	.43**	.31**
	Xhosa	141	.27**	-.02	.40**
Gender	Male	307	.37**	.34**	.28**
	Female	464	.33**	.25**	.28**
Race	Black	257	.32**	.12	.39**
	Coloured	263	.42**	.36**	.31**
	White	253	.41**	.42**	.27**
Age	13-18	306	.25**	.18**	.25**
	19-25	207	.42**	.29**	.40**
	> 25	260	.37**	.31**	.24**
Education	Tertiary	253	.33**	.32**	.21**
	No tertiary	112	.24**	.12	.25**

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; N = number of participants;
High scores indicate high tough mindedness and high SDO/GBD/OEQ

A positive relationship between tough mindedness and the SDO as well as the GBD and OEQ scales was consistently found. Only the data for three subgroups of participants (those without tertiary education, Black participants and those who completed the Xhosa scale) demonstrated no relationship between tough mindedness and responses on the GBD scale.

Hypothesis 5: There is no relationship between SDO and social conformity.

A Pearson product-moment correlation was used to examine the relationship between SDO and social conformity. When including all participants in the analysis, the correlation coefficient was, as predicted, non-significant ($r = -.06$; $p = .07$; $n = 773$). Furthermore, there was no significant relationship between social conformity and GBD ($r = .02$; $p = .53$; $n = 773$). Social conformity was however negatively related to OEQ ($r = -.15$; $p < .00$; $n = 773$), meaning that the more socially conformant participants were, the less they were opposed to equality in general. However, it needs to be noted that this relationship was rather weak, with the correlation explaining a mere 2% of the variance.

Table 3-19: Correlation coefficients between social conformity and SDO, social conformity and GBD and social conformity and OEQ for various sample subgroups

		Correlation: social conformity and...			
Category		N	...SDO	...GBD	...OEQ
Language	English	425	-.03	-.09	.03
	Afrikaans	207	-.30*	-.25**	-.23**
	Xhosa	141	-.16	.13**	-.34**
Gender	Male	307	-.11	-.43**	-.14*
	Female	464	-.03	.07	-.15*
Race	Black	257	-.03	.12*	-.18**
	Coloured	263	-.15*	-.14*	-.11
	White	253	-.16**	-.12	-.16**
Age	13-18	306	-.04	.06	-.13*
	19-25	207	.01	.10	-.09
	> 25	260	-.06	.01	-.14*
Education	Tertiary	253	-.04	.05	-.13*
	No tertiary	112	.06	.11	-.05

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; N = number of participants;
high scores indicate high social conformity and high SDO/GBD/OEQ

Again, the same analyses were also applied to various subgroups in the sample. The results are summarised in Table 3-19. They indicate that the differences between language versions might

once again have influenced the correlations in the various subgroups. Therefore, the analyses were also conducted including only those participants that had completed the English questionnaire version (see Table 3-20).

Table 3-20: Correlation coefficients between social conformity and SDO, social conformity and GBD and social conformity and OEQ for various sample subgroups for English questionnaire versions only

		Correlation: Social Conformity and...			
Category		N	...SDO	...GBD	...OEQ
Gender	Male	167	.00	.03	-.04
	Female	257	-.03	.05	-.12
Race	Black	116	-.03	.07	-.14
	Coloured	171	-.12	-.08	-.12
	White	138	.06	.11	-.02
Age	13-18	99	.14	.13	.11
	19-25	151	-.07	-.06	-.06
	> 25	175	.01	.09	-.12
Education	Tertiary	199	-.03	.07	-.13
	No tertiary	89	.04	.10	-.07

High scores indicate high social conformity and high SDO/GBD/OEQ

The results in Table 3-20 show that the correlation coefficients decreased substantially if only the English questionnaires were considered. It could thus be concluded that the significant relationship between social conformity and GBD in the overall sample and in some sub-samples, as well as the negative correlations between social conformity and OEQ in some sub-samples, could largely be ascribed to a lack in equivalence between the language versions. The results thus supported the hypothesis that SDO is unrelated to social conformity.

Hypothesis 6: SDO and self-esteem are unrelated.

A Pearson product-moment correlation was conducted in order to determine whether there was a relationship between SDO and self-esteem. The procedure revealed a negative correlation of $r = -.21$ for SDO, $r = -.18$ for OEQ and $r = -.16$ for GBD (for all correlations: $p < .00$; $n = 773$). The correlations for the various sample subgroups are provided in Table 3-21.

Table 3-21: Correlation coefficients between self-esteem and SDO, self-esteem and GBD and self-esteem and OEQ for various sample subgroups

		Correlation: self-esteem and...			
Category		N	...SDO	...GBD	...OEQ
Language	English	425	-.21**	-.17**	-.18**
	Afrikaans	207	-.21**	-.17**	-.18**
	Xhosa	141	-.27**	-.15**	-.24**
Gender	Male	307	-.19**	-.16**	-.16**
	Female	464	-.24**	-.18**	-.21**
Race	Black	257	-.28**	-.16**	-.28**
	Coloured	263	-.30**	-.19**	-.32**
	White	253	-.04	-.08	.00
Age	13-18	306	-.06	-.07	-.03
	19-25	207	-.28**	-.18**	-.28**
	> 25	260	-.31**	-.22**	-.25**
Education	Tertiary	253	-.27**	-.22**	-.22**
	No tertiary	112	-.13	.04	-.26**

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; High scores indicate a high self-esteem and high SDO/GBD/OEQ

Thus, contrary to expectations, in this sample, self-esteem was consistently related to SDO in that a higher self-esteem is linked to lower SDO scores. This finding held for all groups except the youngest (13-18 years old), White participants and those without tertiary education. For the latter group however, a negative correlation between self-esteem and OEQ emerged. The results thus resembled the findings in three of the nine samples included in Pratto et al. (1994). Jost and Thompson's (2000) finding that self-esteem was unrelated to the GBD factor was not replicated in the current data set. However, the correlation between self-esteem and OEQ was in most cases stronger in comparison to the respective correlations between self-esteem and GBD.

• Theory Consistent Group Differences

Before the hypotheses relating to theory consistent group differences were tested, average SDO, GBD and OEQ levels for the complete sample and for the various subgroups were determined. The average SDO score for the complete sample of 773 participants lay at 2.54 (SD = 1.04), the respective OEQ score at 2.09 (SD = 1.16) and the GBD score at 2.99 (SD = 1.39). The average scores were thus below the midpoint of the scale (4) and indicated that participants were rather non-social dominance orientated. This corresponded to the results found in other societies (see Table 3-4). Participants also indicated higher GBD than OEQ scores - a result also found by Jost and Thompson (2000). The same results for the various subgroups are displayed in Table 3-22.

Table 3-22: Number (N), mean (M) and standard deviation (SD) of SDO, OEQ and GBD scores for various sample categories

Category		SDO			OEQ		GBD	
		N	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Language	English	425	2.27	.93	1.87	.99	2.67	1.28
	Afrikaans	207	2.82	1.19	2.36	1.34	3.28	1.59
	Xhosa	141	2.96	.86	2.37	1.23	3.56	1.10
Gender	Male	307	2.73	1.09	2.24	1.88	3.21	1.36
	Female	464	2.42	.99	2.00	1.12	2.85	1.39
Race	Black	257	2.80	.92	2.14	1.16	3.46	1.20
	Coloured	263	2.34	.97	1.82	.99	2.87	1.41
	White	253	2.49	1.16	2.33	1.28	2.65	1.43
Age	13-18	306	2.87	1.08	2.40	1.21	3.35	1.39
	19-25	207	2.52	.94	2.11	1.11	2.94	1.19
	> 25	260	2.17	.94	1.72	1.04	2.62	1.44
Education	Tertiary	253	2.11	.90	1.83	.96	2.38	1.24
	No tertiary	112	2.35	.88	1.73	1.09	2.95	1.37

Hypothesis 7: Males have higher scores on the SDO₆ scale than females.

In order to test the hypothesis that males have higher SDO levels than females, t-tests for independent samples were performed.

The Levene test for homogeneity revealed that homogeneity of variances could be assumed for the SDO₆ and the GBD scale (SDO₆: $F_{1,769} = 3.66$; $p = .06$; GBD: $F_{1,769} = .24$; $p = .63$). Variances differed for the OEQ scale (OEQ: $F_{1,769} = 7.49$; $p = .01$). The appropriate independent sample t-tests revealed that for the complete SDO₆ scale as well as for the GBD and OEQ subscales, males had slightly higher scores than females (see Table 3-23).

Table 3-23: Number (N) of males and females, mean (M), standard deviation (SD) t-statistic and effect size (d) for gender differences in SDO and the OEQ and GBD subscales.

	Gender	N	M	SD	t-Statistic	d
SDO ₆	Female	464	2.42	0.99	$t_{769} = 3.99^{**}$	.30
	Male	307	2.73	1.09		
OEQ	Female	464	2.00	1.12	$t_{617.64} = 2.81^{**}$	.21
	Male	307	2.24	1.22		
GBD	Female	464	2.85	1.39	$t_{769} = 3.54^{**}$	.26
	Male	307	3.21	1.36		

****** = $p < .01$; α -level corrected to .017 (Bonferroni correction) in order to avoid α -inflation

Gender differences were also tested for in the various subgroups of the sample (see Appendix B-11 for a table with all results). Due to (a) highly different sample sizes between the complete sample and numbers in the different subgroups and (b) to the risk of α inflation caused by the number of comparisons, it was advisable to compare results using effect sizes rather than significance levels. The results in the subgroups revealed that in most cases, females had lower SDO, GBD and OEQ scores than males, with an average effect size of $d = .32$. However, for some subgroups, females had slightly higher SDO, GBD and/or OEQ scores than males. This was the case for the Xhosa version and for Black participants (Xhosa questionnaire: SDO: $d = .27$; GBD: $d = .19$; OEQ: $d = .20$; Black participants: SDO: $d = .33$; GBD: $d = .07$; OEQ: $d = .29$). Since effect sizes for gender differences in SDO and OEQ were even slightly higher for the subgroup of Black participants than for the subgroup of participants that completed the Xhosa questionnaire, it seemed unlikely that the result for Black participants could solely be attributed to non-equivalence between the Xhosa form of the questionnaire and the other two language versions. In order to rule out this possibility, the same analyses were once again conducted including only those participants that had completed the English questionnaire version (see Appendix B-12 for results). The results for Black participants remained consistent: Female Black participants had higher SDO scores ($d = .31$) and higher GBD scores ($d = .46$) than Black male participants.

In conclusion, the hypothesis that males had higher SDO scores than females generally received support. Effect sizes were small, which corresponded to prior research. However, the finding that Black females possessed a higher SDO than Black men contradicted expectations.

Hypothesis 8: SDO scores are lower for individuals with higher education.

In order to test this hypothesis, t-tests for independent samples were performed with education as the grouping variable. The Levene test for homogeneity revealed variances as homogeneous for all comparisons (SDO₆: $F_{1,363} = .01$; $p = .91$; OEQ: $F_{1,363} = .02$; $p = .89$; GBD: $F_{1,363} = .01$; $p = .75$). Again, the results' interpretation was based on effect sizes rather than on significance levels.

Table 3-24 shows that, for SDO₆ and OEQ, the results supported the hypothesis, with a small effect indicating that those with tertiary education had lower SDO scores than those without and a respective medium effect for GBD. For the OEQ subscale however, there was no difference in scores between those with and those without tertiary education.

Table 3-24: Number (N) of participants with and without tertiary education, mean (M) scores, standard deviation (SD), t-statistics and effect sizes (d) for SDO, OEQ and GBD differences between highly educated and less educated participants.

	Tertiary Education	N	M	SD	t-Statistic	d
SDO₆	Yes	253	2.11	.90	$t_{363} = 2.36^*$	.26
	No	112	2.35	.88		
OEQ	Yes	253	1.83	.96	$t_{363} = .87$	.10
	No	112	1.73	1.09		
GBD	Yes	253	2.38	1.24	$t_{363} = 3.97^{**}$	.45
	No	112	2.95	1.37		

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$

Consequently, the same analyses were conducted with the various subgroups (see Appendix B-13 for a complete results table). For most subgroups the results supported the hypothesis, with participants with tertiary education having lower SDO, OEQ and GBD scores than participants without tertiary education. Effect sizes ranged between $d = .16$ (Coloured participants in OEQ and 19-25 year olds in GBD) and $d = .75$ (Afrikaans version in SDO). However, there were a few exceptions. In the group of participants that had completed the English version and for males, those with tertiary education had higher OEQ scores than those without tertiary education. However, effect sizes for these differences were extremely small (English: $d = .15$; males: $d = .20$). For female participants there was no difference in OEQ scores between those with and without tertiary education ($d = .08$). Participants in the age group of 19-25 years had higher OEQ and SDO scores when they had received tertiary education than when they had not (SDO: $d = .22$; OEQ: $d = .57$). SDO, OEQ and GBD scores were higher for participants with tertiary education in the Xhosa questionnaire versions (SDO: $d = .90$; OEQ: $d = .71$; GBD: $d = .78$) and for Black participants (SDO: $d = .36$; OEQ: $d = .57$; GBD: $d = .11$). It needs to be noted though, that the effect size of GBD was so small that it lacked practical significance. Since effect sizes were particularly high in the Xhosa version and for Black participants, it had to be taken into account that the result was caused by the peculiarities of the Xhosa version. The possibility that the same results would emerge with only those participants that had completed the English questionnaire version was tested. This was indeed the case. Again, for Black participants, participants without tertiary education had lower SDO and OEQ scores (SDO: $d = .26$; OEQ: $d = .51$; GBD: $d = .03$, see Appendix B-14 for all results). It could therefore be concluded that the hypothesis received support for all groups but the 19 to 25 year old participants with regards to OEQ and Black participants with regards to OEQ and SDO.

Hypothesis 9: Up to the age of 60 there is a positive relationship between age and SDO

Only 14 participants in the sample were older than 60 years. They were thus excluded from the analyses, leaving 759 participants in the sample. A Pearson product-moment correlation between SDO and age was performed for the remaining sample. Contrary to the hypothesis, it revealed a small negative correlation of $r = -.24$ ($p < .00$), indicating a tendency for older people to be less dominance oriented than younger people. The correlation between age and OEQ amounted to $r = -.21$ ($p < .00$) and the respective correlation between age and GBD to $r = -.19$ ($p < .00$).

A univariate MANOVA with age-group as the independent variable and SDO, OEQ and GBD as dependent variables was conducted in order to substantiate the correlational findings. It yielded a significant multivariate effect for age group (Wilk's Lambda: $F_{6,1508} = 11.53$; $p < .00$; $n = 759$). Univariate results showed that age had significant effects for SDO, OEQ and GBD (SDO: $F_{2,756} = 34.38$; $p < .00$; OEQ: $F_{2,756} = 24.25$; $p < .00$; GBD: $F_{2,770} = 20.79$; $p < .00$). The subsequent Scheffé tests revealed that, corresponding to the correlational result, the youngest age group of 13 to 18 year olds had higher SDO, OEQ and GBD scores than the 19 to 25 year olds and participants older than 25 ($p < .05$; see Table 3-25 for means).

Table 3-25: Numbers (N) and means of SDO₆, OEQ and GBD for the three age groups

age group	N	SDO	OEQ	GBD
13-18	306	2.87	2.40	3.35
19-25	207	2.52	2.11	2.94
>25	246	2.17	1.72	2.61

In order to check whether these results also held for various subgroups of the sample, correlational analyses were conducted for several subgroups. Table 3-26 contains the correlation coefficients. For all groups but participants without tertiary education, it showed a small to medium negative relationship between age, the SDO₆ and its subscales.

It was therefore apparent that Hypothesis 9 had to be rejected. Instead of being positively related to age, a negative correlation had been found.

Table 3-26: Correlation coefficients for age and SDO, age and OEQ and age and GBD for various sample subgroups

		Correlation: age and...			
Category		N	...SDO	...GBD	...OEQ
Language	English	411	-.16**	-.12*	-.15**
	Afrikaans	205	-.26**	-.19**	-.23**
	Xhosa	140	-.26**	-.20**	-.18*
Gender	Male	301	-.35**	-.27**	-.32**
	Female	453	-.18**	-.14**	-.14**
Race	Black	252	-.24**	-.14'	-.25**
	Coloured	262	-.16*	-.10	-.17**
	White	242	-.32**	-.23**	-.31**
Education	Tertiary	246	-.15*	-.14*	-.11
	No tertiary	104	.03	.04	.00

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$

3.5 Discussion

In this section evidence for the hypotheses will be summarised and interpreted. It also contains a brief discussion of the measures and procedure used. It ends with a summarising conclusion.

3.5.1 Summary and Interpretation of Results

The study set out to establish the reliability and validity of the SDO₆ scale in the South African society, in which inequality between groups was strongly fostered and encouraged in the past and which now places a particular emphasis on group equality. The results support the scale's applicability for most part. A few findings however differ from those found in other contexts. In this section, possible reasons for the findings regarding the scale's reliability will be discussed. This will be followed by the results regarding its validity.

3.5.1.1 Reliability

The SDO₆ scale's reliability, as indicated by its internal consistency, is high for the complete sample as well as for almost all of its subgroups. It thus corresponds to the reliability of the scale in other societies. Except for the tough mindedness scale, its internal consistency is in fact higher than for all other scales that were included in the questionnaire. This indicates that as hypothesised, in the South African context, all items of the SDO₆ scale are consistently tapping into the same construct.

The only exception to this overall positive result is the Xhosa SDO₆ scale. Its reliability is substantially lower than that of the English and Afrikaans forms, indicating that the Xhosa SDO₆ items are not as consistent as the items in the other two languages.

There are three possible explanations for this result. Firstly, the Xhosa form might not be equivalent to its English and Afrikaans forms. As outlined in section 3.3.2, Xhosa has a very different language structure from that of English and Afrikaans, making an exact translation of the scale an extremely difficult undertaking. Secondly, the assistance of research assistants for those who chose the Xhosa scale led to a decrease in standardisation, which might have impacted on the scale's internal consistency. Thirdly, those who took the Xhosa scale also differed from the remaining participants in demographic variables other than language. Only those who speak no language but Xhosa or have only a very limited knowledge of other languages were encouraged to take the Xhosa questionnaire. These are mostly individuals with

languages were encouraged to take the Xhosa questionnaire. These are mostly individuals with very specific demographic characteristics. In particular, this category consists of Black individuals with little formal education and low socioeconomic status. The concepts assessed in the questionnaire were rather abstract. Unfamiliarity with such abstract topics as well as unfamiliarity with questionnaires itself might have made it more difficult for these participants to correctly complete the questionnaire. Thus, even if it was possible to assess these participants with another language version, for them the internal consistency of the SDO₆ scale might still have been low. It is therefore possible that characteristics of the participants, rather than the language of the questionnaire, contributed to the low internal consistency. It is for this reason that it was decided to include the Xhosa data in the analyses. This was justified by the finding that the low reliability of the Xhosa SDO₆ scale did not substantially reduce the internal consistency in any of the sample subgroups, such as gender or age groups. The only exception was the subgroup of Black participants, because a large number of participants in this subgroup completed the Xhosa SDO scale. To discard the Xhosa data from the sample would have meant that a very particular group of South Africans would have been excluded from the research.

However, it is crucial for future research to investigate the reasons for the low reliability of the Xhosa scale and to find ways to improve it.

3.5.1.2 Construct Validity

When considering the complete sample and assuming one-dimensionality of the scale, the construct validity of the SDO₆ scale largely corresponds to SDT's predictions, or at least to the findings of previous research. This indicates that in South Africa the scale seems to measure the same construct as in other societies. Table 3-27 provides a simplified overview of these results. It shows that only one finding has neither been predicted by SDT nor occurred in the literature before. This exception is the negative relationship between SDO and age.

The study also showed that SDO's construct validity is less convincing when assuming that the SDO₆ scale is comprised of two factors and in some cases also when specific sample subgroups were considered. All findings regarding SDO's construct validity in South Africa will be discussed in the following sections.

Table 3-27: Summary of the results of Study 1 (indicated in red) regarding SDO's construct validity in comparison to SDT's predictions and deviating findings of prior research

	SDT's prediction/results	Results differing from SDT found in prior research	Results of the current research differing from SDT and prior research
Factor structure	unidimensional	two-dimensional	
Correlations with other variables			
- Self-esteem	no relationship		
- RWA	not related/only small positive relationship	positive relationship of medium size	
- Social Conformity	-.1	no relationship	
- Tough Mindedness	-.1	positive relationship	
Theory consistent group differences			
- gender	males higher scores than females	no difference	
- age	positive relationship	no relationship	negative relationship
- education	negative relationship	no relationship	
Average SDO levels	-.1	below scale midpoint	

¹ "n" indicates that no prediction has been made

• Factor structure

With regards to the factor structure of the SDO₆ scale, SDT expects one-dimensionality. Exploratory factor analyses suggest that this is indeed the case. The assumption of a one factorial solution is also supported by the scale's high internal consistency and high item-total correlations.

However, when analysing the data further through confirmatory factor analyses, a different picture emerges. Here, and contrary to expectation, a one factor solution did not provide an optimal fit for the SDO₆ scale. For the complete sample as well as for the various subgroups, a correlated two factor solution was more appropriate. Just as in Jost and Thompson's (2000) analyses in the US, in South Africa the two SDO factors also related differently to various other variables. Specifically, this was the case with regards to RWA, social conformity and educational levels. This supports the notion that the two factors do constitute two different entities, with general opposition to equality (OEQ) indicating a rejection of group equality in general and group-based dominance (GBD) as desire for own group dominance.

The results found in this sample thus exactly relate to the debate between Sidanius and Pratto (1999) and Jost and Thompson (2000). Whereas Sidanius and Pratto (1999) argue that the SDO₆

scale should be considered as being comprised of one factor only, Jost and Thompson (2000) emphasise that it in fact consists of two factors.

In conclusion, no clear, unambiguous picture regarding the factor structure of the SDO₆ scale surfaced. The hypothesis that the scale is comprised of one factor did thus neither receive unequivocal support nor can it be rejected. Although the result contradicts the theory of social dominance, it does not imply that the SDO₆ scale is necessarily inadequate in the South African society. Rather, the findings are an exact reflection of the common results and debates in other societies with regards to the scale's factor structure.

• Correlations with other constructs

In order to further clarify the construct validity of the SDO₆ scale, the nature of the relationships between SDO and a number of other constructs was determined. In specific, the following associations were predicted.

1. no or only a low positive relationship between SDO and RWA
2. a positive relationship between SDO and tough mindedness
3. no relationship between SDO and social conformity
4. no relationship between SDO and self-esteem

Results consistent with SDT

The results regarding the relationship between SDO and RWA were consistent with SDT's expectations. As predicted, the two variables were unrelated in the complete sample. This contradicts Duckitt (2001), in whose South African sample a small positive relationship between RWA and SDO was found. This is possibly due to the specific characteristics of his sample, which consisted of Afrikaans speaking students from one South African university. Firstly, university students are more educated than the average population. Secondly, Afrikaans speaking White South Africans are a very particular group of South Africans, which have, for example, been described as relatively intolerant (Foster, 1991).

More in depth-analyses revealed that in this sample RWA and SDO are not related, because SDO's two subscales relate to RWA in opposite directions. A small positive relationship was found between RWA and GBD, meaning that the more authoritarian people were, the more they desired their own group to be dominant. The relationship between RWA and OEQ, on the other hand, was negative. The more authoritarian participants were, the more they were opposed to inequality in general. This latter result is mainly caused by the responses of Black and

Coloured participants. The more authoritarian Black and Coloured participants were, the less they desired inequality between groups. For them, RWA was unrelated to own group dominance. On the contrary, for the group of White participants there was a positive relationship between RWA and GBD. Thus, the more authoritarian White participants were, the more they preferred their own group to be dominant. For White participants, there was no consistent link between RWA and general opposition to equality. This means differential relationships between RWA and OEQ and RWA and GBD for the three racial groups underlie the positive relationship between RWA and GBD and the negative relationship between RWA and OEQ in the complete sample.

It is possible that the result for Black and Coloured participants reflects the public desire for group equality that is characteristic of contemporary South Africa. This is strongly advocated - particularly by the political authorities. Those who follow and obey public authority figures should therefore express the same desire by obtaining high scores on the RWA measure.

White participants with a high RWA, on the other hand, might follow different authorities. As outlined in section 3.1.3.2, RWA is an ingroup phenomenon. Most of the political authorities in South Africa are non-White. High RWA scores for White South Africans might therefore express something different than for members of other race groups. It could be that for White South Africans, high RWA rather indicates an adherence to past values. It is therefore possible that White South Africans with a high RWA perceive the Black majority ruling party, with its relatively liberal attitudes, as too lenient. This would be consistent with the finding that those White participants with high RWA, desired own group dominance. White South Africans with a high RWA might have the perception that only their own group is capable of re-establishing and maintaining law and order in the country.

Interestingly, positive relationships between RWA and GBD also emerged for female participants and participants above the age of 25, that is those that were socialised under the Apartheid system. Thus far, there is no explanation for these results. It would therefore be an interesting and worthwhile endeavour for future researchers to investigate these differential relationships more closely.

Results consistent with prior research

Duckitt (2001) assumes that RWA as well as SDO are ideologies based on specific worldviews rather than personality characteristics. He developed two scales to assess these specific worldviews: social conformity and tough mindedness. In his research he found that tough

mindfulness, but not social conformity, was related to SDO. The opposite was the case for RWA. In order to further validate the SDO₆ scale and in order to distinguish SDO from RWA, these two scales were also employed in the current research. In the complete sample, the results for both variables supported the hypotheses. The same was the case for most subgroups. That is, SDO was not associated with social conformity and was positively related to tough mindedness. Where negative relationships between social conformity and SDO were found, these were rather weak. The most negative association was found with regards to OEQ, indicating that the more social conformant people are, the more they favour group equality. Again, this result can be explained by the strong social norm of equality that exists in the South African society. The results with regards to tough mindedness were even more unequivocal. In the complete sample as well as in all sub-samples, a medium relationship between SDO and tough mindedness emerged. That is, the more tough minded participants were, the more they favoured group hierarchies.

With regards to self-esteem, the results did not support the hypothesis. SDT expects no relationship between SDO and self-esteem. Instead, with a consistent low to medium effect, self-esteem was negatively related to SDO. This indicates that people with a low self-esteem advocate inequality between groups. This relationship was stronger for the general opposition to equality (OEQ) subscale than for the subscale indicating group-based dominance (GBD): particularly among Black and Coloured participants. It means that Black and Coloured participants with a low self-esteem support inequality in general rather than the dominance of their own group. This possibly indicates that Black and Coloured individuals with a low self-esteem perceive the group they belong to as not worthy or maybe incapable of being dominant in society. Arguing from an SIT perspective, such a relationship between the individual and the group is feasible. In SIT, it is assumed that part of a person's self-esteem is derived from his or her group membership. Under specific circumstances, a group that cannot provide the person with positive self-esteem is devalued, as has been outlined in the literature review in section 2.1.3.5. It might well be that some Black and Coloured participants have a low self-esteem due to their membership in a specific group - possibly their race group. Although the items of the SDO₆ scale assess relationships between groups in general without referring to a specific type of group, it seems likely that in the South African context, in which race is a highly salient category, race is the category participants have in mind when completing the SDO₆ scale. Duncan (2003) reports that particularly the previously oppressed groups of Black and Coloured South Africans show acceptance of racial and cultural differences, possibly implying that this category has particular importance to those two groups. It is possible that Black and Coloured participants with a low

self-esteem are those that have internalised their alleged inferiority. This is supported by the fact that for teenage participants who were socialised after the end of Apartheid in a democratic system that emphasises equality between groups, self-esteem and SDO are unrelated. That is, for these participants, their racial group membership might be less important in determining their self-esteem.

It is important to note, though, that the self-esteem scale employed in this research specifically assesses personal self-esteem and not collective or group related self-esteem. As Turner (1999) highlights, SIT does not expect group membership to influence levels of personal self-esteem but, at most, a person's *social* self-esteem. As hypothesised, personal self-esteem should hence not influence how people think about group hierarchies. This was indeed the finding for White participants in this sample. It is however possible that for the country's Coloured and Black population, racial group membership is more closely linked to personal self-esteem than is typically the case. Firstly, during Apartheid, racial group membership had immediate and severe effects on the personal life of Black and Coloured people in South Africa. The degree of access to resources, such as education and careers, was determined by racial classification, with members of the Black and Coloured groups receiving less than individuals classified as White. A second reason as to why Black and Coloured participants' personal self-esteem is related to the desire for group hierarchies might be that in South Africa, the Black as well as the Coloured culture is more collectivistic than the White. Group membership might therefore be more important for the personal self-esteem of those two groups than for White South Africans.

In summary, the results do not conform to the expectations of SDT or to the common finding that self-esteem is unrelated to SDO. However, Pratto et al. (1994) also found a negative relationship between SDO and self-esteem in three of their US samples, which were of equal strength to the correlation found in the present study. It can therefore be concluded that although the results do not support the hypothesis, it does not necessarily mean that they impair the validity of the SDO₆ scale in South Africa. Results similar to those found here have also been found in the US, for which context the scale has been considered valid. Nonetheless, the result shows that particularities of the social context have to be taken into account in order to explain the relationship between SDO and other variables. The findings relating to SDO and self-esteem are thus a first indication that relationships between SDO and other variables are not as general and ubiquitous as predicted by SDT.

Results inconsistent with SDT or prior research

Considering the complete sample, no relationships between SDO and any other variable were found that were not predicted by SDT and had not occurred in prior research.

• Theory consistent group differences

SDT specifies a number of groups that are expected to have different SDO scores. The predictions by SDT that males, those with less education and older people would be more in favour of group-based hierarchy were tested in this study.

Results consistent with SDT

In general, the results were supportive of SDT's predictions. Males had higher SDO scores than females and participants with tertiary education had lower levels of SDO than participants without. However, the respective gender differences were not found for Black participants. In this population group females had higher SDO scores than males. Equally so, Black participants without tertiary education had lower SDO and OEQ scores than those with tertiary education. It could be argued that this result is due to the comparatively lower reliability of the Xhosa form of the questionnaire, which was only completed by Black participants. However, this possibility is ruled out by the finding that the same result also emerged when only analysing the data of those Black participants that had completed the English questionnaire form.

Results consistent with prior research

Regarding theory consistent group differences, for the complete sample no results have been found that were inconsistent with SDT's predictions, but had occurred in prior research.

Results inconsistent with SDT or prior research

With regards to the relationship of age and SDO the hypothesis that older people have higher SDO scores than younger individuals was not supported. Instead, the opposite was the case. The older the participants, the more equality between groups they desired. Apart from this result being contradictory to the hypothesis, it is especially unexpected in the South African culture. Younger participants are those that have been socialised in a society that is based on equality values, whereas older participants grew up under a system that was characterised by promoting inequality between groups. Since socialisation is assumed to influence the development of SDO levels it should be reflected in the SDO an individual expresses. This was clearly not the case in

this sample. It might be due to the fact that the youngest age group consisted of participants that were in their early teenage years. Those participants might have been less conscious about whether their answers were conformant to norms of political correctness. Since equality between groups is a very prominent ideology in South Africa, older participants might have felt more obliged to answer according to such norms without considering their actual opinion. Another explanation could be that older participants have experienced the negative effects of a societal system that is based on extreme hierarchical relationships between groups, whereas younger participants, who have not experienced these effects, are not as strongly against it. However, SDT would argue that a hierarchical system provides so many advantages for the dominant group that it would be unlikely that this group, at least, would oppose such a system after having experienced it. This was however clearly the case in this sample. Again, the specific situation in South Africa regarding race groups might account for this result. In South Africa the previously dominant group of White South Africans was a minority group, whereas the former subordinate groups were in the majority. It might be that due to experience, older White participants are aware of the fact that a system in which their race group dominates is not feasible.

Another interesting possible explanation is that the higher SDO scores in the younger age group derive from the environment in which they live. Almost all of the seven schools at which data collection took place were rather segregated schools. Adult participants however were drawn from racially mixed environments. Various studies in South Africa on the influence of contact between race groups in the work place show that positive contact experiences increase the positive perception of the outgroup among high status group members, that is White South Africans (e.g. Mynhardt & du Toit, 1991). It is thus possible that older White participants express a lesser desire for hierarchy due to the constant contact they experience with members of other race groups. This could contribute to bringing the average SDO levels of the older race groups to a level that is below that of the younger participants.

3.5.2 Method

Two issues have to be raised regarding the sample and procedure employed in this study. With regards to the sample, it needs to be noted that it was a non-probabilistic sample, which is not truly representative of the South African population. Participants were only drawn from a very specific and possibly non-representative region in South Africa, the Cape metropolitan area. It is an urban region in the Western Cape Province, which is one of the two provinces in South Africa, which until recently was not governed by the African National Congress (ANC). A

particular subset of Coloured participants, the Cape Malay, lives in this and no other region. Finally, most Black people living here belong to the cultural group of Xhosa. The study therefore neglected other Black cultural groups, as well as South Africans of Indian and other Asian origins. Practical and financial constraints prevented data collection from the whole of South Africa. Nonetheless, the results of this study largely correspond to the few findings from South African studies employing samples from other regions. Regarding the non-representativity of the study, Sidanius and Liu (1992) remark that strictly representative samples are in fact not necessary, since most social sciences rely on volunteers as participants. This implies that none of these samples is truly representative of the whole population.

An apparent problem with the measures employed in this study was that different language versions, which were not 100% equivalent, were administered. This was particularly the case between the Xhosa and the two other language forms. Given that participants of all race groups completed the English version, it could be argued that it would have been better to restrict the study to English questionnaires only. This would rule out the possibly distorting effect of the different language versions. However, as argued above regarding the SDO scale, it would also mean that a crucial part of South Africa's population could not be included in the research. Generally, the results for those Black participants who had taken the English questionnaire corresponded to those having taken the Xhosa form. This indicates that the non-equivalence of the language versions did not interfere with the results. It thus justifies the inclusion of the Xhosa form of the questionnaire.

3.5.3 Conclusion

South Africa provides a particularly interesting context within which to conduct research on SDT. It is a multi-cultural society that is characterised by a variety of different language, cultural and religious groups. Furthermore, it is a society that has a history of strong institutionalised race-based discrimination. Its ideological system has only recently experienced a complete reversal, with a strong emphasis on equality. South Africa thus has very particular historical and social circumstances that distinguish it from most other countries in the world in which research on social dominance research has taken place.

Despite these factors, as yet, only minimal research on SDO has been conducted in South Africa. The two samples that were reported in the literature were rather specific in that they drew on university students only. They also assumed that the SDO items employed were suitable for the South African context. However, due to the particular intergroup situation in this country it

would be no surprise if the SDO₆ scale, which is commonly used to assess SDO, possesses little reliability and validity in this context.

For this reason, it was crucial to determine the scale's psychometric properties before employing it in further research in South Africa. The present study confirmed that the SDO₆ scale is reliable and generally possesses adequate construct validity in a demographically diverse sample. However, some of the findings regarding the scale's validity were unexpected. In most cases, these results can be explained by the particularities of the South African context, such as the findings regarding the relationship between self-esteem and SDO. Some results however, have left open questions. This includes the interesting finding that Black males have lower SDO scores than Black females, which can possibly be attributed to particularities of the Xhosa culture. It is also for this reason that future research needs to further substantiate the validity of the SDO₆ scale by drawing on equally diverse samples including participants from other parts of South Africa. Such research should also focus on the scale's criterion-related validity, which has not been assessed in this study. The prediction of policy or party support by SDO levels could be used to establish this type of validity. The temporal stability of the SDO₆ scale in South Africa also remains to be determined. It will be assessed in the following study (Study 2), whose main objective is to investigate the utility of SDO for the explanation of intergroup discrimination in comparison to the socio-structural variables identified by SIT.

In addition, the meaning of OEQ in the South African context requires further investigation. Jost and Thompson (2000) define this subscale as the general desire for group-based dominance. In their view, high scores for low status groups on this variable reflect internalised discrimination. However, in South Africa, it is unclear what groups have high and what groups have low status and thus what the meaning of OEQ scores for different groups is. Are Black South Africans dominant, because they have political power? Or are White South Africans the dominant group because they possess the largest share of the country's economic resources? Study 3 might shed some light on these questions. In addition to examining the utility of SDO and the nature of the intergroup context on intergroup discrimination, it also investigates perceptions of group dominance among South Africans in order to allow for firmer interpretations and conclusions.

4 Study 2

The first aim of this study is to investigate how well SDO is able to explain intergroup discrimination when it is combined with the socio-structural variables group status, the legitimacy of status differences between groups and their stability. The SDO₆ scale, which has been found internally consistent and valid in South Africa in Study 1, is employed as a measure of SDO.

As outlined in section 2.3.3, the interactive effects of socio-structural variables and SDO have already been reported in the literature (Levin et al., 2002; Rabinowitz, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto & Levin, 1995; in Federico, 1998; Sidanius, Pratto & Mitchell, 1994). However, all of this research has focused on SDO, group status and only one additional socio-structural variable. No study has yet included group status, legitimacy and stability. By including these variables, the study described in this chapter thus extends previous work. Its procedure is based on Federico's (1998) experimental research, in which the status of a group to which the participants belonged, as well as the legitimacy and stability of the status differences were manipulated.

A second aim of this study derives from the conclusions of Study 1, where it was recommended that future research should assess the SDO₆ scale's temporal stability in order to obtain a more thorough picture of the scale's reliability. This study is designed so that it is possible to determine SDO's stability over time.

The chapter begins with an outline of relevant theoretical background information. Thereafter the study's method and results are described. A discussion of the results concludes this chapter.

4.1 Background

4.1.1 Federico's (1998) Experiment

Federico (1998) conducted two studies investigating the combined effects of status, perceived stability, and SDO on bias in favour of high status groups shown by low and high status group members. Whereas his first study was an analysis of survey data, he used a derivation of the minimal group paradigm (MGP) for the second study. Since this second study triggered the current research, it will be described in detail.

Federico (1998) hypothesised that the relationship between SDO and favouritism towards high status groups would be mediated by perceptions of stability of the intergroup hierarchy. He derived his assumption from research findings showing that the relationship between SDO and bias in favour of the high status group is stronger among high status group members than among members of low status groups (Sidanius, Pratto & Levin, 1995; in Federico, 1998). He proposes that this is the case, because high SDO members of low status groups favour the high status outgroup only if the intergroup situation is perceived as stable (refer to section 2.3.3.2, for SDT's explanation of this assumption). When the intergroup situation is seen as unstable, they will instead show ingroup favouritism.

Federico's study was disguised as research relating to perceptual intelligence. Based on an essentially meaningless task such as was used by Tajfel (1970), university students were ostensibly classified as *dot-overestimators* or *dot-underestimators*. In fact, all participants were given the feedback that they were *dot-underestimators*. Group status was manipulated by providing information about the perceptual intelligence of *dot-overestimators* as compared to *dot-underestimators*. Participants were either made to believe that *dot-underestimators* generally receive higher scores (high status condition) or lower scores (low status condition) on perceptual ability tests. In order to manipulate the stability of the groups' hierarchy, participants in the high stability condition were told that the researchers were certain that the difference in perceptual ability between the groups was stable and that it was also expected to occur in the present research. In the unstable condition it was stated that the difference between *dot-overestimators* and *dot-underestimators* was unstable and not necessarily a likely outcome of the current research. Participants were then given a bogus perceptual intelligence test. While this test was supposedly scored, participants completed the dependent measures. These included the SDO₆ scale, a symmetrical allocation task, and four trait evaluations each of *dot-overestimators* and *dot-underestimators*. An item assessing the perceived legitimacy of the status differences was included as a statistical control. It was assumed that under all conditions, participants would perceive the status structure as fair.

In contrast to his hypothesis and the findings of his initial survey study, Federico (1998) found that neither SDO, nor the status or stability levels or their interactions, predicted bias in favour of the high status group for the allocation matrix. For the trait evaluations, the only significant predictor was the interaction between SDO and status. In the stable as well as in the unstable condition, a positive relationship between SDO and bias in favour of the high status group emerged for high status group members only and never for members of low status groups.

4.1.2 Federico's (1998) Study and the Current Research

At first glance the results of Federico's (1998) experimental study appear rather pessimistic for SDT as well as for SIT. In his hierarchical regression analyses, neither the socio-structural variables nor SDO predicted bias in favour of the high status group, with the interaction between SDO and stability in the trait ratings being the only exception. Federico had expected an interaction between group status, stability and SDO. He gives two possible explanations as to why this interaction did not occur. Firstly, the sample size of 113 may have been too small to detect a significant three-way interaction. Secondly, in groups that do not have a history of power differences, fairness may have become the most salient behavioural norm. In this case, participants would show hardly any or no discriminatory behaviour. In addition, certain other peculiarities of his study might also have contributed to this result. A slightly different approach will therefore be followed in this research. The changes made to Federico's method are outlined as follows:

1. *Bias in favour of the high status group as dependent variable*

Typically, SIT research assesses the influence of various variables, such as status or stability, on ingroup as opposed to outgroup favouritism. Federico, on the other hand, in line with his hypothesis, used bias in favour of the high status group as the dependent variable. This variable has a different meaning for high status and low status group members. Among the high status group a high score indicates ingroup favouritism, while it expresses outgroup favouritism among the low status group.

The purpose of the current study is to test the effects of status, stability, legitimacy and SDO on ingroup bias among high status and among low status groups. That is, among high status groups favouritism towards the high status group is used as the dependent variable, while among the low status group, bias in favour of the low status group is assessed.

2. *Measures of high status group favouritism*

In order to measure bias in favour of the high status group, Federico employed one allocation matrix and four different traits as evaluative ratings of the two groups. It is possible that this was not a sufficient number of items in order to obtain a reliable measure of favouritism towards the high status group. This study therefore employs a larger number of allocation matrices and traits in order to measure ingroup bias.

3. Artificial groups instead of real groups

Federico himself points out that one reason why his experiment did not yield the expected effects may have been the fact that group membership was based on arbitrary categorisation. In fact, ingroup bias is generally stronger in studies in which real groups are involved (Petersen & Blank, 2003). Accordingly, the current study makes use of participants' real group memberships.

4. Stability and status as sole socio-structural variables

SIT originally specified status, and the stability and legitimacy of the status structure as the relevant socio-structural variables, which determine whether a person will display no discrimination, ingroup favouritism or outgroup bias. As Federico's hypothesis included assumptions about the relationship between status, stability and SDO only, he did not vary the legitimacy of the status structure. The addition of this variable might help to gain a better understanding as to what determines intergroup discrimination. The current study will thus manipulate the legitimacy of the status structure in addition to the group's status and the status structure's stability.

4.2 Hypotheses

As outlined in the literature review in Chapter 2, SIT assumes intergroup discrimination to be dependent on perceptions of socio-structural variables, such as a group's relative status and the stability and legitimacy of the intergroup structure. SDT, on the other hand, sees the internal orientation SDO as the driving force of discrimination. One point of disagreement between the theories thus lies in the question as to whether intergroup discrimination is caused by a dispositional variable, or solely by circumstances and their perceptions thereof.

Research in the SIT tradition has specified the nature of the independent and interactive effects of the socio-structural variables on intergroup discrimination measured as ingroup bias in the following way³:

1. *Status*

The higher status group shows stronger ingroup favouritism (e.g. Bettencourt et al., 2001; Mullen et al., 1992; outlined in section 2.1.3.5).

2. *Legitimacy*

More ingroup favouritism is displayed when the intergroup situation is perceived as illegitimate than when it is seen as legitimate (Turner & Brown, 1978; outlined in section 2.1.3.7).

3. *Status × Stability*

High and low status groups show the same amount of ingroup bias, if they see the intergroup situation as unstable. High status groups are more in favour of their group than low status groups in a stable intergroup context (Bettencourt et al., 2001, outlined in section 2.1.3.6).

4. *Status × Legitimacy*

When the intergroup situation is seen as legitimate, the low status group shows less ingroup favouritism than the high status group. When the intergroup situation is regarded as illegitimate, low status groups increase their ingroup bias, while high status groups decrease it (Bettencourt & Bartholow, 1998; Jost et al., 2001). On the other hand Turner and Brown (1979) found that high and low status groups increase their ingroup bias in an illegitimate intergroup situation. It is possible that these differing results can be explained by the three

³ The hypotheses are derived from the findings reported by Turner and Brown (1978) and in the meta-analyses of Mullen et al. (1992) and Bettencourt et al. (2001). It needs to be noted that, as outlined in section 2.1 of the literature review, contradictory results regarding the interactive effects of group status, legitimacy and stability exist. Some studies would suggest different relationships between the variables.

way interaction between status, stability and legitimacy. If a stable and legitimate situation turns illegitimate, both, high and low status group members might increase their ingroup bias. In an unstable and legitimate situation that becomes illegitimate, high status group members might decrease their preference for their own group (section 2.1.3.7).

5. *Status × Stability × Legitimacy*

Among low status groups an unstable and illegitimate intergroup situation is related to higher ingroup favouritism than a stable and legitimate group stratification system. Among high status groups, an unstable and legitimate intergroup situation is related to higher ingroup favouritism than a stable and legitimate intergroup situation. A high status group in an unstable, illegitimate situation will show less ingroup favouritism than a low status group in a stable, illegitimate situation (Turner & Brown, 1978; section 2.1.3.7).

A graphical representation of how the SIT-derived interactive effects of status, stability and legitimacy on ingroup favouritism may appear, is depicted in Figure 4-1.

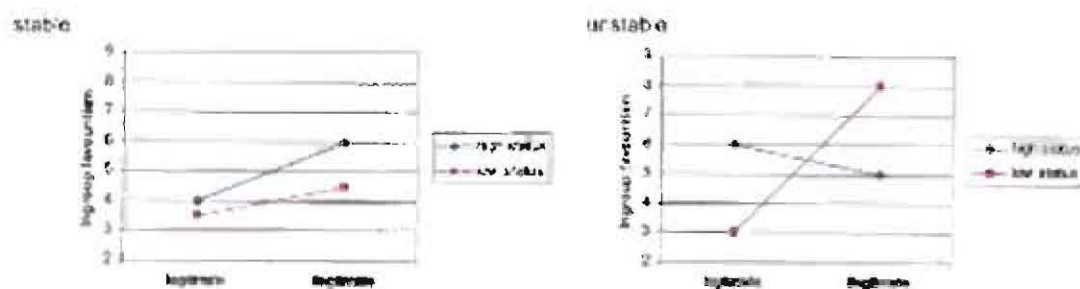


Figure 4-1: Interactive effects of status, stability and legitimacy on ingroup favouritism as derived from SIT

SDT on the other hand assumes that SDO in combination with contextual factors explains intergroup discrimination. In contrast to SIT, the following effects based on the theory and previous research results, would be expected:

1. *SDO*

People with higher SDO levels show higher ingroup favouritism (e.g. Pratto et al., 1994; section 2.2.3.4).

2. *SDO × Status*

A positive relationship between ingroup favouritism and SDO occurs for high status groups and no relationship or a negative relationship emerges between SDO and ingroup favouritism in low status groups (Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius, Pratto & Levin, 1995; in Federico, 1998; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In other words, individuals with high SDO levels show more ingroup favouritism than persons with a low SDO, if they are high status group members. No difference between high and low SDO members in the amount of ingroup favouritism displayed is expected for low status groups (see section 2.2.3.4).

3. *SDO × Status × Stability*

As described in section 4.1.1, Federico (1998) expected - and partially found - that for high status group members, SDO is positively related to bias in favour of the high status group, irrespective of the stability of the status hierarchy. For low status groups this relationship only occurs under stable, but not under unstable conditions. This means that irrespective of the intergroup structure's stability, among high status group members those with a high SDO always show more ingroup favouritism than those with a low SDO. Among low status group members in a stable intergroup situation it is expected that people with a high SDO prefer the high status group more. This means that they show less ingroup favouritism than low status individuals with a low SDO. If the intergroup situation is unstable, there is no difference in ingroup favouritism displayed by high and low SDO members in low status groups (see section 2.3.3.2 for a detailed explanation of the reason for this assumption).

4. *SDO × Status × Legitimacy*

The influence of status, SDO and legitimacy on ingroup favouritism is expected to be the same as the interactive influence of status, SDO and stability. If the intergroup situation is legitimate, in low status groups, low SDO individuals show more ingroup favouritism than people with a high SDO. However, if the intergroup situation is illegitimate, no difference in ingroup favouritism is expected between those with high and low SDO (Levin et al., 2002; Rabinowitz, 1999; see section 2.3.3.3 for a detailed explanation of the reason for this assumption).

Figure 4-2 gives a graphic representation of the expected relationships between SDO, status and stability/legitimacy.

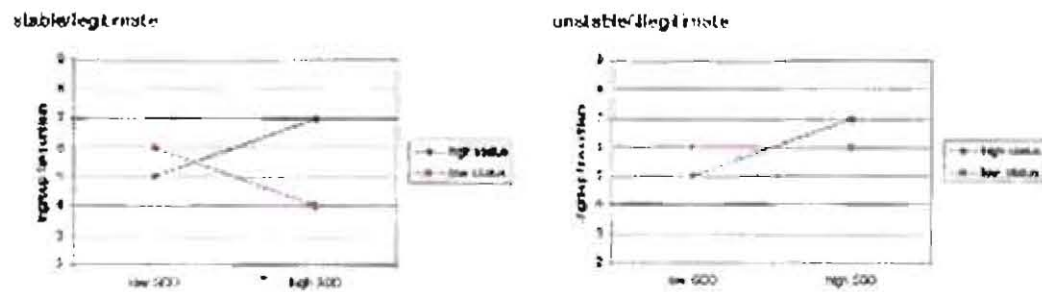


Figure 4-2: Interactive effects of SDO, status and stability/legitimacy on ingroup favouritism as derived from SDT

SDT does not further specify whether or not the nature of the intergroup context by itself influences ingroup favouritism in addition to its interactive influence with SDO. SIT, on the other hand, clearly does not account for the possibility that intergroup discrimination is caused by personal dispositions (e.g. Turner, 1999). Compared to SDT, which incorporates the nature of the intergroup situation and personal dispositions, SIT therefore takes the narrower perspective. Thus, in order to be able to compare the two positions, the main hypothesis tested in this study has to be formulated from an SIT perspective.

Hypothesis 1:

Neither SDO nor SDO in interaction with status, stability or legitimacy have an influence on ingroup favouritism.

Secondly, with regards to the temporal stability of the SDO_c scale, whether SDO scores remain stable over time will be tested. Support for SDO's temporal stability has been found by Pratto and Shih (2000). In their experiment, participants classified as low SDO before the experiment also had lower post-experiment SDO scores than participants classified as high SDO (see section 3.1.2). However, investigating the temporal stability of the SDO_c scale, does not only serve to determine the scale's reliability, but also helps to shed light on the question whether SDO can be regarded as an internal disposition. If this is the case, SDO scores should be unaffected by manipulations of socio-structural variables. Schmitt et al. (2003) have raised first doubts about the assumption that SDO is indeed a relatively stable individual difference variable, when they succeeded in experimentally changing SDO scores (see section 2.2.3.4). Their results opened the debate between researchers in the SDT tradition and supporters of other theories about what it is the SDO scale measures. With the testing of the following hypothesis it will be possible to

2. *SDO × Status*

A positive relationship between ingroup favouritism and SDO occurs for high status groups and no relationship or a negative relationship emerges between SDO and ingroup favouritism in low status groups (Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius, Pratto & Levin, 1995; in Federico, 1998; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In other words, individuals with high SDO levels show more ingroup favouritism than persons with a low SDO, if they are high status group members. No difference between high and low SDO members in the amount of ingroup favouritism displayed is expected for low status groups (see section 2.3.3.4).

3. *SDO × Status × Stability*

As described in section 4.1.1, Federico (1998) expected – and partially found – that for high status group members, SDO is positively related to bias in favour of the high status group, irrespective of the stability of the status hierarchy. For low status groups this relationship only occurs under stable, but not under unstable conditions. This means that irrespective of the intergroup structure's stability, among high status group members those with a high SDO always show more ingroup favouritism than those with a low SDO. Among low status group members in a stable intergroup situation it is expected that people with a high SDO prefer the high status group more. This means that they show less ingroup favouritism than low status individuals with a low SDO. If the intergroup situation is unstable, there is no difference in ingroup favouritism displayed by high and low SDO members in low status groups (see section 2.3.3.2 for a detailed explanation of the reason for this assumption).

4. *SDO × Status × Legitimacy*

The influence of status, SDO and legitimacy on ingroup favouritism is expected to be the same as the interactive influence of status, SDO and stability. If the intergroup situation is legitimate, in low status groups, low SDO individuals show more ingroup favouritism than people with a high SDO. However, if the intergroup situation is illegitimate, no difference in ingroup favouritism is expected between those with high and low SDO (Levin et al., 2002; Rabinowitz, 1999; see section 2.3.3.3 for a detailed explanation of the reason for this assumption).

Figure 4-2 gives a graphic representation of the expected relationships between SDO, status and stability/legitimacy.

collect further evidence as to whether or not SDO can be understood as an internal disposition. Formulated from the SDT perspective it states:

Hypothesis 2:

Irrespective of the induced nature of the intergroup situation, SDO scores will remain stable over time.

4.3 Method

4.3.1 Participants

The final sample consisted of 192 English first language students attending the University of Cape Town, who were also familiar with Afrikaans. Their mean age was 19.5 years ($SD = 2.33$). Of all participants, 113 were female (58.9%) and 79 (41.2%) male. In total, two participants classified themselves as Black, 53 as Coloured, 12 as Indian and 125 as White. Study 1 revealed that for Black South Africans some results regarding SDO were different from those found in other societies and for White and Coloured South Africans. Since only two participants in this study were Black, the inclusion of their data should not influence the results of this research.

4.3.2 Design

Participants were classified as low or high in SDO based on an initial SDO assessment. A median split determined to which of the two categories participants were allocated. Group status as well as the stability and legitimacy of the intergroup situation were manipulated with a low and a high level each. A 2 (SDO) \times 2 (status) \times 2 (stability) \times 2 (legitimacy) design was thus intended.

4.3.3 Procedure

Students were approached on campus and in lectures in February 2003. They were asked to participate in a two-phase study, which investigated the relationship between languages and coping abilities. The first phase was a one-page questionnaire, which included items assessing demographic information, as well as the SDO₆ scale (shown in Appendix A-5). Those participants, whose first language was English and who were at least able to understand Afrikaans were invited to take part in the second phase. This phase was an experimental session, which took place in one of the university's computer laboratories, approximately one week after the initial questionnaire had been completed. Session sizes varied between 2 and 30 participants. Each participant worked alone without interacting with any of the other students present.

In order to attract participants to the study, a lucky draw was held among all those participants who completed both parts of the study. Prizes had been donated by various companies and included CD, pizza and shopping vouchers, gym memberships, theatre tickets and newspaper subscriptions.

4.3.3.4 Coping style task

After the manipulations had been introduced, participants were asked to write a few sentences about how they would deal with a specific, potentially stressful situation. The sentences were recorded, but not analysed.

4.3.3.5 Instruments

Following the coping style task, participants were provided with a computer-based questionnaire, consisting of the following three sections:

1. Manipulation checks (3 items)
2. Dependent measures (see section 4.3.4)
3. Perceptions of the study's purpose and concerns (4 items)

The item checking the status manipulation read "According to McClark's hypothesis, are members of the language group you belong to better copers than members of the other language group?". The answer format was dichotomous (*yes* = 1/*no* = 2). A score of "1" indicated a correct understanding of the status manipulation among participants in the high status condition and an incorrect understanding among participants in the low status condition. The second question tested whether participants perceived the assumed status differences between Afrikaans and English speakers as legitimate ("From the information provided, to what extent do you think McClark's hypothesis is fair?"). It could be assumed that participants who perceived McClark's hypothesis as fair, would also regard the status differences between English and Afrikaans speakers as fair. Participants had to indicate their answer on a seven point Likert scale, ranging from *not at all* (= 1) to *very much* (= 7). The manipulation of stability was indirectly checked by asking the question: "From the information provided, to what extent does language seem to be related to coping skills?". It could be assumed that individuals who perceived the intergroup situation as stable would see language as being in the same way related to coping abilities as portrayed in the status manipulation. The answer format was a seven-point scale with "1" labelled as *English speakers are better copers*, "4" as *No difference between English and Afrikaans* and "7" as *Afrikaans speakers are better copers*. For participants in the high status condition these scores were reverse-scored, so that a high score always indicated stability.

The final four questions about participants' perceptions of the study began with an item in a dichotomous answer format (*yes/no*). It read: "Would you have expected that members of your language group can cope better with stressful situations?". The remaining three items were taken

4.3.3.1 Manipulation of group status

In order to manipulate group status and the legitimacy and stability of the status structure, participants were introduced to a *psycho-linguistic theory* by a researcher called *McClark*, which was created for the purposes of this experiment. It explained why members of some language groups are better able to cope with stress and thus possibly able to study more effectively than others. Since all participants' first language was English, the high status condition portrayed English speakers as better able to cope than Afrikaans speakers (scored as "1"). In the low status conditions Afrikaans speakers were described as being better able to cope than English speakers (scored as "2").

4.3.3.2 Manipulation of legitimacy

In order to manipulate the legitimacy of status differences between English and Afrikaans speakers, participants were told that the *psycho-linguistic theory* was substantiated by the observation that comparatively more speakers of the low status language group are admitted to psychiatric hospitals. In the legitimate condition (scored as "1"), participants were made to believe that it was therefore fair to claim the existence of differences in coping ability between English and Afrikaans speakers, since the ability to cope with stress was undisputedly an important indicator of psychological well-being. In the illegitimate condition (scored as "2") participants received the information that many other factors besides language might just as well explain why more speakers of the low status group are admitted to psychiatric institutions. It would thus be unfair to conclude that speakers of one language were better able to cope with stress than speakers of another language.

4.3.3.3 Manipulation of stability

In the stable condition (scored as "1"), participants read that there was a strong expectation that the theory's predictions would be confirmed by this research, since studies conducted over the past decades consistently found the relationship between language and coping to hold true. In the unstable condition (scored as "2"), participants read that the globalisation of mass media had led to the reduction of cultural differences and that it was therefore doubtful that differences in coping abilities between speakers of different languages still existed.

from Crocker and Luhtanen (1990). They had an open ended answer format and read as follows: (1) "What do you think this study was about?", (2) "Was there anything odd or unusual about the study?" and (3) "Is there any aspect of the study about which you have questions or comments?".

After all participants had completed the experiment, they were thoroughly debriefed via email. Care was also taken to address the concerns and comments raised in connection with the four final questionnaire items (Appendix C-1 shows the debriefing letter).

4.3.4 Dependent Measures

4.3.4.1 Allocation matrices

Participants completed a total of six symmetrical allocation matrices similar to those used by Tajfel (1970). On each matrix, points had to be allocated to an English and an Afrikaans speaker. Unlike in Tajfel's (1970) research, the points did not represent resources, but each speaker's relative coping ability based on the responses to the Coping Style Task. They ranged from "1" to "7" for the one speaker and "7" to "1" for the speaker of the other language, with "1" indicating poor coping and "7" indicating very good coping. An example of one such response pair is provided in Figure 4-3. All presented responses and their combinations are presented in Appendix C-2. A pre-study had ensured that the responses were of equal quality (see Appendix C-3).

The order in which the English and the Afrikaans responses were presented on the screen was counterbalanced. The extreme form of outgroup favouritism (allocating one point to the English answer and seven points to the Afrikaans answer) was scored as "-3", the milder forms were scored as "-2" (two points for English answer and six points for Afrikaans answer) and "-1" (three points for English answer and five points for Afrikaans answer). If there was no preference for either language speaker (allocating four points for English and four points for Afrikaans), a score of "0" was given. Preference for the English response was scored accordingly as "1", "2" or "3" (depending on the degree of preference). The scores are thus *pull* scores, indicating how far each participant deviates from parity (= 0) towards favouritism for the own group (Bourhis, Sachdev & Gagnon, 1994).

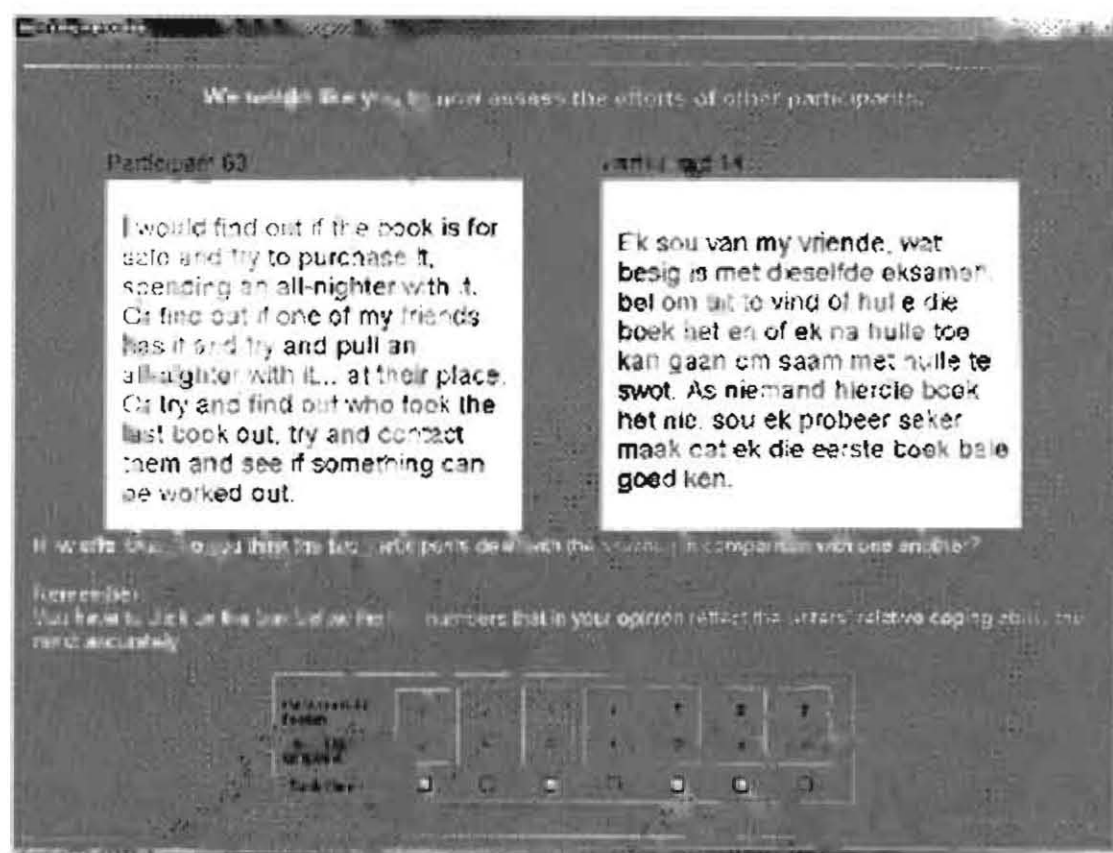


Figure 4.3: Example of essay evaluation

4.3.4.2 Trait ratings

After the essay evaluations, participants had to rate English and Afrikaans speakers alternatively on a total of seven positive, and five negative traits. The chosen traits were used in research by Poppe and Linssen (1999). Arguing that competence and morality are the two dimensions most frequently used by people to evaluate groups, these researchers chose traits that represent these two dimensions (see Table 4-1). The internal consistencies (Cronbach α) of the scales are reported as varying between .60 and .75 for the competence scale, and .60 to .71 for the morality scale.

Participants were asked to indicate on a seven point scale how characteristic they perceived the presented trait to be for either Afrikaans or English speakers (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*). The traits *clumsy*, *slow*, *aggressive*, *rude* and *selfish* were reverse-scored so that a high score always indicated a positive evaluation.

Table 4-1: Traits and their dimensions as identified by Poppe and Linssen (1999)

	Competence	Morality
positive loadings	self-confident	honest
	efficient	tolerant
	competitive	modest
	intelligent	
negative loadings	clumsy ¹	aggressive ¹
	slow ¹	rude ¹
		selfish ¹

¹ = reverse scored

4.3.4.3 SDO_e scale

The same SDO scale as employed in Study 1, and the first phase of Study 2 was presented (refer to section 3.3.2.2 for a description of the scale).

4.3.5 Data Analysis

Unless otherwise indicated, all statistical analyses were performed using *SPSS for Windows, Release 11.0.1*.

4.4 Results

This section begins with a description of the consistency and structure of the scales and closes with the results relating to the hypotheses.

4.4.1 Phase 1: Initial Questionnaire

The analyses of the questionnaire from which the initial SDO scores were derived (hereafter referred to as pre-SDO scores) are based on the data of all 485 participants who took part in the first phase of the study. There were 275 females (56.7%) and 210 males (43.1%). Another three participants (0.6%) did not indicate their gender. A total of 85 participants classified themselves as Black (17.5%), 93 as Coloured (19.2%), 21 as Indian (4.3%), 282 as White (58.1%) and one person as “other” (0.2%). Most of the participants indicated English as their first language (394; 81.2%). A total of 391 participants (82.7 %) were at least able to understand Afrikaans.

A principal component analysis reveals that all SDO₆ items had a loading of at least .36 on one factor, which also captured the bulk of the variance (30.57%; second factor: 9.31%; eigenvalues of first and second factors: 4.89 and 1.49; for factor loadings refer to Appendix C-7). This result suggested that the scale could be treated as unidimensional.

However, confirmatory factor analyses in Study 1 had shown that it might be more appropriate to consider the SDO₆ scale as two-factorial (GFI's were .737 for the one factor and .920 for the two factor solution). Considering the results of the explanatory factor analysis paired with the scale's high internal consistency (Cronbach α = .82; item-total correlations in Appendix C-8), it was decided nonetheless to treat the SDO scale as unidimensional in this study in order to ensure consistency with Federico's (1998) work and other previous research. To assume a two-factorial SDO scale would make it difficult to compare the results to prior findings, which are based on global SDO scores.

On average, participants had an SDO score of 2.36 (Median = 2.1875; SD = .93; Min = 1.00; Max = 6.63). The scale's mean thus fell once again below the midpoint of the scale (3.5). It was significantly lower than the mean SDO score in Study 1 ($M = 2.54$; $t_{1113.18} = 3.19$; $p < .00$). This result corresponds to Sinclair et al.'s (1998) assumption that college students should have lower SDO scores than a random sample of the population, since the college environment has proven to have hierarchy attenuating capacities.

A median split was used in order to classify each participant as either “low” or “high” in SDO.

4.4.2 Phase 2: The Experiment

Of the 485 students who had completed the initial questionnaire, 220 English speaking students with Afrikaans knowledge also took part in the second phase. However, for 28 of these participants, the data of both phases could not be matched, as the code they had provided on the initial questionnaire did not correspond to the code they used in the experimental session. Table 4-2 contains the number of participants, average pre-SDO scores and the standard deviations per condition.

Table 4-2: Number of participants per condition, average pre-test SDO scores and their standard deviations (SD)

Condition	Description			Numbers (Mean SDO; SD)	
	Status	Legitimacy	Stability	Low SDO	High SDO
1	high	high	high	14 (1.68; .35)	13 (3.03; .71)
2	high	high	low	11 (1.53; .37)	13 (3.01; .76)
3	high	low	low	11 (1.38; .32)	12 (3.06; 1.08)
4	high	low	high	12 (1.63; .35)	10 (3.05; .75)
5	low	high	high	13 (1.63; .32)	11 (2.94; .55)
6	low	high	low	12 (1.64; .26)	14 (2.89; .54)
7	low	low	low	11 (1.49; .32)	11 (2.75; .52)
8	low	low	high	13 (1.61; .32)	11 (2.85; .51)
Total				97 (1.58; .33)	95 (2.95; .68)

Study 1 had replicated the established result regarding gender and SDO. Males had higher SDO scores than females. This finding was also reflected in this research. The majority of females were categorised in the low SDO group (57.5% of all females) and the majority of males as high SDO group members (59.5% of all males).

As Table 4-2 shows, the variances in the high SDO conditions were higher than in the low SDO conditions. A Levene test for homogeneity of variances confirmed this observation ($F_{190} = 10.11$; $p < .00$). However, Bortz (1999) indicates that this is no impediment to carrying out ANOVAs, on condition that the cell sizes are equal. Since there was no wide variation in cell sizes in this case, a 8 (condition) x 2 (SDO level) ANOVA was conducted in order to determine whether the SDO scores of participants in the high and low SDO conditions differed.

A significant main effect for SDO emerged ($F_{1,176} = 300.41$; $p < .00$), indicating that participants who had been classified as high in SDO had higher SDO scores than participants classified as low in SDO. The absence of an interaction between SDO and condition indicated that this was

the case across all conditions. The non-significant main effect for condition indicated that in all conditions, participants had the same average SDO scores (see Appendix C-9 for all results).

4.4.2.1 Manipulation checks

(1) Manipulation of status

Participants generally understood the status manipulation. Of the 96 participants in the high status condition, only five (5 %) answered incorrectly that Afrikaans speakers are better able to cope than English speakers. Exactly the same proportion of the 96 participants in the low status condition indicated that their own language group copes better with stress than Afrikaans speakers.

(2) Manipulation of legitimacy

There was no difference in the perceived legitimacy between participants in the legitimate and the illegitimate conditions, indicating that the legitimacy manipulation had failed. A t-test revealed that participants in both conditions rated the legitimacy equally (High legitimacy: $M = 4.03$; low legitimacy: $M = 3.80$; $t_{190} = 1.11$; $p = .27$; effect size: $d = .16$).

(3) Manipulation of stability

The stability manipulation was also unsuccessful. No difference in perceived stability between participants in the stable conditions and those in the unstable conditions was found ($M = 5.97$ for high stability, $M = 5.79$ for low stability; $t_{190} = 1.07$; $p = .29$; effect size: $d = .15$).

4.4.2.2 Allocation matrices

A principal component analysis including the answers to all six allocation matrices as variables revealed three factors with eigenvalues above 1. The eigenvalues and the amount of explained variance are shown in Table 4-3.

Table 4-3: Eigenvalues and explained variance of factors for allocation matrices

Factor	eigenvalue	explained variance
Factor 1	1.53	25.50
Factor 2	1.19	19.89
Factor 3	1.01	16.77

A look at the factor loadings showed that, according to Hair et al.'s (1979) guidelines, only the second and third allocation matrices did not load significantly on the first factor (Table 4-4). They also showed non-significant item-total correlations (allocation matrix 2: .09; allocation matrix 3: .06; see Appendix C-10). The reliability of the complete scale thus reached a mere $\alpha = .38$.

Allocation matrix 2 and allocation matrix 3 were therefore excluded from the analyses. A principal component analysis including the remaining four matrix scores revealed two factors with eigenvalues above 1 (first factor: eigenvalue: 1.52; explained variance: 37.98%, second factor: eigenvalue: 1.02; explained variance: 25.42%). All four variables loaded significantly on the first factor (see Appendix C-11). The Cronbach α rose to .45 (see Appendix C-12 for item-total correlations). Given the shortness of the scale this seemed appropriate.

Table 4-4: Factor loadings for allocation matrices on first factor

Allocation Matrices	Factor loading
1. Participant 63 vs. Participant 14	.685
2. Participant 18 vs. Participant 47	.159
3. Participant 14 vs. Participant 78	.122
4. Participant 78 vs. Participant 18	.441
5. Participant 47 vs. Participant 12	.537
6. Participant 12 vs. Participant 63	.733

On average, participants received a discrimination score of -.02 (Median: 0.00; SD: .52; min: -1.33; max: 1.33). A one sample t-test revealed that this was not significantly different from zero ($t_{191} = -.48$; $p = .63$). That is on average, participants showed neither a preference for their own group nor for the outgroup. This indicated that the responses were indeed perceived as being of equal quality.

4.4.2.3 Trait ratings

In order to calculate a discrimination measure for the trait ratings, for each trait the difference between the evaluation for English speakers and the evaluation for Afrikaans speakers was determined by deducting the score for Afrikaans speakers from the respective score for English

speakers⁴. Difference scores above 0 thus indicated ingroup favouritism, scores below 0 outgroup bias, and a score of 0 no differential evaluation.

A principal component analysis using these difference-items as variables revealed that the data were best described by two factors. Three factors with eigenvalues above 1 emerged (first factor: eigenvalue: 2.82; explained variance: 23.53%; second factor: eigenvalue: 2.31; explained variance: 19.28%; third factor: eigenvalue: 1.26; explained variance: 10.54%). All items except the item *aggressive* loaded significantly on the first two factors (see Appendix C-13), with all items belonging to the competence dimension loading on one, and all morality items loading on the other. Together with the steep decline in eigenvalues between the second and third factors, this suggested that the assumption of a two factor solution was appropriate.

The reliability analysis for the difference between the evaluations of English and Afrikaans speakers for the competence items revealed a Cronbach α of .68. The respective reliability for the morality items was $\alpha = .66$. Since the item-total correlation for the item *aggressive* (.23) can be considered significant (Hair et al., 1979) it was kept in the scale. Appendix C-14 shows all item-total correlations.

As the factor and reliability analyses suggested a two factor solution, two trait rating scores were calculated. These were the average difference in competence items between English and Afrikaans speakers, and the average difference in morality items between English and Afrikaans speakers.

The average difference evaluation for the competence traits was 1.15 (median: 0.00; SD: 4.55). A one-sample t-test showed that this difference was significantly different from 0, showing that participants saw their own language group as more competent than Afrikaans speakers ($t_{191} = 3.49$; $p < .00$). The mean difference evaluation for the morality items was -1.90 (Median: -1.00; SD: 6.86). This result was also significantly different from 0 ($t_{191} = 3.82$; $p = .00$) indicating that participants saw the outgroup as more moral than their own language group.

4.4.2.4 SDO

A principal component analysis revealed one factor that captured the bulk of the variance (eigenvalue of first factor: 5.93; eigenvalue of second factor: 1.66; explained variance of first

⁴ In this thesis *intergroup discrimination* is operationalised as favourable *attitude* towards one group (or as the differential evaluation of groups in the allocation matrices). This does not necessarily imply that those who favour their own group will also show discriminative behaviour. Research has shown that attitudes and behaviour do not always correspond (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1975).

factor: 37.0%, explained variance of second factor: 10.4%). All items had a loading of at least .46 on the first factor (for factor loadings see Appendix C-15).

The SDO₆ scale also had high internal consistency (Cronbach α SDO₆ = .87; see Appendix C-16 for item-total correlations).

The mean SDO score in the post-assessment was 2.31 (Median: 2.13; SD: .90; Min: 1.00; Max: 5.06). This did not differ from the average SDO score assessed in the pre-test ($t_{675} = .73$; $p = .47$).

4.4.2.5 Final checks

With regards to expectations, the results show that only 73 participants (38%) would have expected the particular language group that was portrayed as high status group to actually cope better. The remaining 119 (62%) participants would not have expected this result. The full list of answers to the subsequent three open-ended, final check items is provided in Appendix C-17. The most important results are summarised in the following paragraphs.

In total, 36 participants (19%) did not believe the study was about coping, but rather about attitudes, prejudice, stereotypes or (in)equality between groups. An additional 26 participants (14%) assumed that the study was looking at differential coping abilities between English and Afrikaans speakers and at issues of attitudes, prejudice, stereotypes and (in)equality between groups. The responses indicate that participants initially thought the study had to do with coping and started to question this assumption only later when presented with the trait ratings and the SDO scale. By that stage, they had already completed the essay evaluations. It can therefore be assumed that the disguise as Coping Style Study had at least been successful for the first part of this research.

Participants' responses included comments on the division between the focus on coping and items relating to inequality and attitudes. Some participants also expressed interest or disbelief in *McClark's* theory. A few participants mentioned that they believed language to be unrelated to coping or at least to be just one of many relevant factors which they felt should have been included in the study. Another concern was that the study focused on English and Afrikaans only, while neglecting other South African languages. Comments were also made about the items themselves. Some participants noticed that the SDO items had already been administered in the initial questionnaire. Item repetitions, as well as the generalisations about English and Afrikaans speakers that participants were forced to make, were criticised.

An interesting finding is that 23 participants (12%) assumed the study dealt with race or racial attitudes although at no point was reference made to race. It is for this reason that the relationship between race and SDO was investigated, even though the study did not set out to explore this relationship. Whether the average SDO scores of White participants, which formed the largest racial group among the participants, differed from the SDO scores of participants of other racial groups was investigated. An independent samples t-test showed that in the pre-SDO assessment, White participants had higher SDO scores than participants belonging to other race groups. Interestingly, this was also the case with regards to the post SDO-scores (see Table 4-5).

Table 4-5: Means, standard deviations (in brackets), t-statistics and effect sizes (d) for pre- and post-SDO scores for White participants and participants of other race groups

Race Group	White n = 125	Other n = 67	t-statistic	d
Pre-SDO	2.39 (.93)	2.02 (.68)	$t_{171.91} = 3.14^*$	.44
Post-SDO	2.46 (.89)	2.02 (.84)	$t_{190} = 3.35^{**}$	.51

* $p = .05$; ** $p < .001$

This result thus contradicts the findings of Study 1, in which White participants did not have the highest SDO level. It is possible that the difference in results is due to the specific sample used in this research, which consisted of university students only. If this is the case, it questions whether results gained from student samples in research on SDO in South Africa can be generalised to the general South African population.

The finding that the White students had higher SDO scores than those of other race groups is also somewhat surprising, given that participants had been primed towards language before the second assessment of SDO. Results should therefore no longer have reflected societal status differences between race groups, but differences between language groups as induced by the manipulations. The following hypotheses investigate whether this was in fact also the case.

4.4.3 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Neither SDO nor SDO in interaction with status, stability or legitimacy have an influence on ingroup favouritism.

Section 4.4.3 has revealed that the manipulations for legitimacy and stability failed. Group status was the only successfully manipulated variable. For this reason, Hypothesis 1 can only be tested in a simplified form, if rephrased as follows: "Neither SDO nor SDO in interaction with status

have an influence on ingroup favouritism". This again corresponds to SIT's perspective in that the hypothesis states that only the socio-structural variable *status*, but not a personal disposition, influences intergroup discrimination. As outlined in Chapter 4.2, SDT would anticipate an interaction between status and SDO. For high status groups a positive relationship between SDO and ingroup favouritism is expected. For low status group members no or a negative relationship between SDO and ingroup bias is predicted (e.g. Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Appendix C-18 shows the average intergroup discrimination scores (allocation matrices, competence items, morality items) for the various combinations of status and SDO levels. In order to test whether there were significant differences in the discrimination measures under those different conditions, a 2 (status) x 2 (SDO) MANOVA with the three measures of discrimination (allocation matrices, competence evaluations, and morality evaluations) as dependent variables was conducted. The results supported the hypothesis. The only significant multivariate effect was a main effect for status (Wilk's lambda: $F_{3,186} = 6.63$; $p < .00$). A look at the respective univariate effects revealed that status had a significant effect on the allocation matrices and the competence items, but not on the morality items (allocation matrices: $F_{1,191} = 17.52$; $p < .00$; competence items: $F_{1,191} = 4.64$; $p = .03$; morality items: $F_{1,191} = .16$; $p = .69$).

Table 4-6: Differences in evaluations of English and Afrikaans speakers in the allocation matrices and competence items: Means (M) and standard deviations (SD) for low and high status groups

	low status ¹		high status ²	
	M	SD	M	SD
Allocation matrices	-.17	.48	.13	.52
Competence items	.45	4.21	1.84	4.78

¹n = 96; ²n = 96

For both, the allocation matrices and the competence items, high status group members favoured their own group more than low status group members (see Table 4-6).

A table including all MANOVA results can be found in Appendix C-19.

Hypothesis 2: Irrespective of the induced nature of the intergroup situation, SDO scores will remain stable over time.

Since the manipulations for stability and legitimacy had failed, it was only possible to check the influence of changes in SDO scores from pre- to post assessment in dependency of status and SDO level. To this end, participants in conditions one to four were summarised as high status group and participants in conditions five to eight as low status group. In addition, a new variable consisting of the difference between pre- and post-SDO scores was created by deducting the pre-SDO scores from the post-SDO scores. Means and standard deviations of the difference in SDO are provided in Table 4-7.

Table 4-7: Average SDO difference scores and their standard deviations per condition

Status	Low SDO		High SDO	
high	.19	(.56)	-.16	(.90)
low	.17	(.40)	-.01	(.65)
total	.18	(.48)	-.08	(.78)

A 2 x 2 ANOVA was then performed with status and SDO levels as factor variables and SDO difference scores as the dependent variable. Only the main effect for SDO was statistically significant ($F_{1,188} = 7.64$; $p = .01$). It showed that participants with low SDO scores increased their SDO levels to a greater extent from pre to post-assessment than participants with high SDO scores. This result was possibly caused by regression to the mean. The complete ANOVA table is shown in Appendix C-20. In order to further investigate the scale's temporal stability, a Pearson product-moment correlation between the initial SDO scores and the SDO scores measured after the manipulations, was conducted. The correlation of $r = .72$ ($p < .00$) revealed that the SDO scores are rather stable after an interval of approximately one week. The respective correlation coefficients for participants in the high as opposed to low status and low SDO as opposed to high SDO conditions are provided in Table 4-8.

Table 4-8: Participant numbers (N), correlations between pre and post SDO scores for low and high levels of status and SDO and the respective z-values for the difference in correlations

	N	low	N	high	z-value for difference
Status	96	.78**	96	.68**	1.47
SDO	97	.56**	95	.46**	.96

** $p < .01$

The overall correlations for participants with high and low SDO levels were lower than for the complete sample. This result is due to the range restriction in SDO scores that the classification into high and low SDO scorers necessarily implies.

Fisher's method, as outlined in Howell (2002), was employed in order to test for differences in the correlation coefficients between those with high and low SDO levels, and high and low status levels. It showed that there were no statistically significant differences in the correlation coefficients. The z-value for the difference in correlations between high and low status, and high and low SDO participants was not significant (critical z-value after Bonferoni correction: 2.24).

In summary, the hypothesis that SDO scores would remain stable over time, irrespective of the induced intergroup situation, could only partially be tested due to the failure of the legitimacy and stability manipulations. The status manipulation did not lead to changes in SDO scores. The correlation between pre- and post SDO scores for the complete sample seemed adequately high. It was again uninfluenced by the status manipulation.

4.5 Discussion

4.5.1 Summary and Interpretation of Results

The current research set out to fulfil two objectives. Firstly, it intended to provide a further investigation into the value of SIT and SDT in explaining intergroup discrimination by extending a study conducted by Federico (1998). The second objective was to investigate the SDO₆ scale's temporal and situational stability.

The main hypothesis investigating the factors that lead to intergroup discrimination was formulated from an SIT point of view. It expected that neither SDO, nor SDO in interaction with status, stability or legitimacy would have an influence on ingroup favouritism. This hypothesis could not be tested, as the manipulation checks revealed that participants had not perceived the stability and legitimacy manipulations in the intended way. Ideally, the study should therefore have been repeated with changed manipulations. The current manipulations were possibly flawed in that they might have assessed the construct validity of McClark's theory rather than perceptions of stability and legitimacy. That is, what was assessed was in how far participants believed McClark's theory was correct or not. However, due to organisational and financial restrictions, it would have been impossible to again recruit a sufficient number of participants. The hypothesis was therefore condensed and reformulated focusing only on status and SDO. The results were supportive of this hypothesis. Participants high and low in SDO showed the same amount of ingroup bias. There was no interaction between SDO and status. This outcome therefore does not replicate Federico's (1998) findings. Federico found a statistically significant interaction between SDO and status for his trait evaluations, while no significant results emerged for the allocation matrix. In the current research, the only significant result was that high status participants showed more ingroup bias than low status participants on the matrices and competence trait ratings. This is in line with findings typical in SIT research (Bettencourt et al., 2001; Mullen et al., 1992).

The outcome of the current research also contradicts other prior research, which found SDO to be directly related to intergroup discrimination (Pratto et al., 1998; Sidanius, Pratto & Mitchell, 1994). It suggests that discrimination might not be triggered by a general internal orientation or an individual difference variable. This supports the argument of Schmitt et al. (2003), who propose that SDO is not a general orientation towards inequality, but the desire for inequality between those groups that are salient at the time when the scale is completed. Schmitt et al.

(2003) found that the most thought of category among their American participants was race. It is rather likely that in South Africa, with its more recent history of state supported race-based oppression, race is an even more salient category than in the US. This is supported by two observations. Firstly, a relatively high proportion of participants assumed the study was about racism/racial groups although at no point had any mention of race been made. Secondly, in line with SDT, White participants, who constitute the historically dominant race group in South Africa, had higher SDO levels than participants of other racial groups. It is thus possible that high SDO individuals would have shown more discrimination than low SDO participants, if discrimination had been based on racial instead of language groups. This again suggests that SDO does not assess a general orientation towards inequality. If it did, people with low and high SDO levels should differ in their amount of language-based discrimination, even though they had thought about race groups while completing the scale. Unfortunately, this study did not assess what groups participants thought about while completing the SDO₆ items.

Following a different argument, Pratto (1999) emphasises that SDO is a general orientation, but should not be understood as a determinant of discrimination. Rather, it should be perceived of as a readiness to discriminate. Specific ideologies or cues, present in a particular context, determine whether discrimination is triggered. Although people with high and low desires for inequality have different ideological habits, which allow or prohibit them from being discriminative, these will only guide their behaviour if the context does not prescribe the use of different ideologies. That is, only when the context does not prevent high SDO people from having access to their ideological habits will they show discrimination. It is possible that in this study, the particular intergroup context induced by the manipulations determined participants' behaviour more than SDO levels. If this was the case, it becomes questionable whether SDO would ever be useful in explaining intergroup discrimination. In the social world, information about the particular nature of the intergroup relationship will always be available. SDO would thus never or at the most hardly ever become an important trigger for intergroup discrimination.

The finding that high status group members preferred their own group more on the allocation matrices and the competence scale than low status group members is in line with SIT, which expects high status members to be more in favour of their own group than low status group members. High and low status participants did not differ in how moral they perceived English and Afrikaans speakers. Both groups saw Afrikaans speakers as more moral than English speakers to be. This corresponds to previous research. Glick and Fiske (2001), for instance, highlight that groups tend to be seen as either competent or warm, but not as both. In this study, *moral* instead of *warm* was used, which can be seen as fulfilling the same purpose as the

dimension of warmth. Glick and Fiske argue that status determines whether a group is seen as competent or not, which explains why participants in the high status condition perceived their group as more competent than participants in the low status condition. The nature of interdependence is responsible for whether a group is seen as warm – or moral – or not. If competition between groups as opposed to cooperation is present, the outgroup is evaluated as not warm/moral. In this study, there was no intergroup competition and consequently the Afrikaans outgroup was seen as more moral than the English speaking ingroup. Glick and Fiske (2001) argue that this positive evaluation of the outgroup on the non-competence related dimension serves the dominant group in justifying their superiority and keeping the lower status group quiet and in their place.

Even though the manipulations for legitimacy and stability failed, the results are more supportive of SIT, than they are of SDT. The only significant difference in discrimination occurred between members high and low in status as predicted by SIT. The internal orientation variable SDO was not related to language-based discrimination.

With regards to the temporal stability of SDO, mixed results emerged. In this study, the SDO₆ scale has adequate retest reliability. It is however a little lower than reported in previous research (Pratto, 1999, Pratto & Lemieux, 2001; Pratto & Shih, 2000). There are two possible explanations for this. Firstly, some participants might have thought about different groups at the first and second time of SDO assessment. Before the SDO₆ scale was administered for the second time, participants had been primed towards language groups. This means that a greater proportion of participants might have completed the scale with language groups in mind than at the first time of assessment, when no specific intergroup context had been made salient. Secondly, the manipulation of status might have played a role in that, depending on their manipulated status, participants might have changed their SDO scores. Evidence against this explanation is given by the finding that within the groups of high and low status members post-SDO scores were the same. That is the status manipulation did not have a major influence on SDO scores. This result supports SDT's postulation of SDO as an internal orientation, which should consequently not be easily influenced by experimental manipulations. It is thus contrary to Schmitt et al. (2003). They hypothesised that if an intergroup situation is salient, where a person belongs to a low status group, this person should desire less inequality than if the salient intergroup context makes him/her a high status group member. In this study, participants who were categorised as low status group members did not have lower post-SDO scores than those categorised as high status group members.

This could also mean that SDO indeed reflects hierarchical structures as they exist in society. Participants were asked to evaluate English and Afrikaans speakers. Compared to Afrikaans, English is the dominant language in South Africa. Research has shown that White English speakers are generally seen as higher in status than White Afrikaans speakers (Appelgryn & Nieuwoudt, 1988). The dominance of English is equally apparent in the education sector. Prins and Ulijn (1998) emphasise that as much as 80% of secondary school education in South Africa takes place in English. English is also the language of instruction at Cape Town's universities. Since all participants were first language English speakers, they in actual fact all belonged to the high status group. As Pratto et al. (1998) have shown, high and low SDO individuals only show a different extent of discrimination if the high status group's status is threatened. The simple manipulation in this experiment might not have threatened the superior status of the English speaking participants. If SDO is understood as an internal difference variable, experimental manipulations of a group's status should generally not be reflected in changes in SDO scores. Again, this contradicts Schmitt et al. (2003) who found that subordinate groups show a higher desire for inequality than dominant groups when they consider the stratification system opposite to the way it exists.

Low SDO participants increased their SDO scores from pre- to post-assessment more than high SDO participants. This was to be expected. Since on average all participants scored below the midpoint of the SDO₆ scale, those who had been classified as low SDO had extremely low SDO scores. Thus, for those participants, change was essentially possible in one direction only. They were able to increase their scores, whereas there was not much room at the bottom of the scale in order to decrease their scores even further. High SDO participants on the other hand could either decrease or increase their SDO scores.

Thus far, the results are strongly supportive of the SDO₆ scale's temporal and situational stability. However, it was not possible to test the influence of the perceived legitimacy and stability of the intergroup situation on SDO scores due to the failed manipulation of these variables. Future research should therefore investigate the combined influence of these two socio-structural variables on SDO levels.

4.5.2 Conclusion

The fact that the manipulations of stability and legitimacy failed overshadowed this research. It is strongly recommended that future research attempts to successfully manipulate the stability and legitimacy of the intergroup situation so that the joint influence of status, stability and legitimacy

on SDO and of SDO, status, stability and legitimacy on intergroup discrimination can be investigated. It is possible that it is generally difficult to manipulate stability and legitimacy, especially independently of each other. As outlined in section 2.1.3.6, perceptions of stability and legitimacy are often intertwined in that an unstable situation is often also perceived as illegitimate. The difficulty of manipulating stability and legitimacy independently of each other might explain why no study has as yet looked at the joint effects of SDO, stability and legitimacy on intergroup discrimination. In fact, even in SIT research, Turner and Brown's (1978) study is the only reported attempt that was successful in manipulating both stability and legitimacy, in an experimental setting. To find ways of manipulating both variables would therefore provide the opportunity to gain new insights into the determinants of discrimination.

Despite the failed manipulations, the study has revealed interesting and useful results. As with prior research in the SDT line, this experimental study revealed that SDO levels are rather stable over time as well as over situations. Secondly, and contrary to previous research, individuals with different SDO levels did not show any difference in their extent of ingroup bias. This result is possibly due to SDO being associated with specific forms of discrimination only. That is, with discrimination relating to the particular groups people think about when completing the scale (Schmitt et al., 2003).

In fact, both findings could be explained by the possibility that in South Africa the majority of people have race groups in mind when completing the SDO scale. If this was the case, manipulations relating to the intergroup situation of different language groups would obviously not influence SDO scores, nor would SDO scores predict language-based discrimination. Rather, SDO should be related to race-based discrimination.

Through the analysis of survey data, Study 3 investigates whether SDO levels do influence levels of race-based discrimination or whether once again SIT's socio-structural variables play a more important role in a society in which the racial stratification system is currently undergoing change. Furthermore, the use of survey data might reveal stronger effects than experimental data as was the case in Federico's (1998) research.

5 Study 3

The findings from the preceding study demonstrated that SDO was stable over time and situations, but that it was not able to explain language-based discrimination. As a possible reason it was suggested that SDO might be a less general attitude than postulated by SDT. That is, it might not indicate the desire for inequality between groups in general, but only the desire for an hierarchy between those groups that people have in mind when completing the SDO scale (Schmitt et al., 2003). It was hypothesised that in South Africa, the most thought about groups are racial groups. If this holds true, SDO, as the driving force of discrimination, should be related to race-based discrimination in South Africa's society.

As in Study 2, this research again investigates the effects of SDO and of the socio-structural variables identified by SIT (status, stability and legitimacy) on discrimination. However, instead of language-based discrimination, race-based discrimination is the focus. To this end, a survey study was conducted. Instead of manipulating status, stability and legitimacy, which proved difficult in Study 2, this study looked at the perceptions of these variables held by members of existing race groups.

The very particular situation regarding race in South Africa that distinguishes it from most other societies, also allows an investigation of the influence of changing group status on SDO in a naturalistic setting, that is, in a society in which people remain members of their respective race groups, but in which the status attached to each race group is changing. SDT postulates that members of a society's dominant group have the highest SDO levels. Indeed, this hypothesis has been supported by data collected in various societies, including the US, New Zealand, Sweden and Israel (e.g. Levin & Sidanius, 1999; Sidanius et al., 2000; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In each of these societies it is clear which group is dominant and which subordinate. The hierarchical systems in these societies have remained stable and have not undergone major changes over the past few decades.

In this aspect they differ from the situation found in South Africa. Here, the social hierarchy has historically been based on race with White South Africans being the dominant and Black South Africans the subordinate group. In 1994, radical changes in the racial stratification system took place with the previously oppressed group taking over the country's political rule. Thus, today, Black South Africans undoubtedly hold the largest share of political power whereas White South Africans still possess the highest socioeconomic status. Nonetheless, there are also rising Black middle and White lower-classes (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001). Due to the transitional nature of

South Africa's society, it is therefore difficult to determine which racial group constitutes the dominant group. Research has not yet addressed whether the predictions and assumptions of SDT regarding SDO hold true in societies like South Africa, in which the former social order has been overturned and no clear new order has yet been established. The question that needs to be answered is how SDO operates in a stratification system, which is currently undergoing change. Do different levels of SDO among members of different status groups reflect their relative status in the previous stratification system? Do they reflect the current or to be expected hierarchy? Or do SDO levels depend on the status of the ingroup at the time when the person was socialised (Duckitt & Mputhing, 1998b)?

In addition to testing whether SDT's concept of SDO or SIT, with its stronger focus on contextual factors, can better account for race-based discrimination in South Africa, this study therefore seeks to establish whether SDO can explain racial group relations in a society undergoing transformation. Since this requires information about how the current racial stratification system is organised, a third, prerequisite objective is to assess perceptions of dominance between racial groups in South Africa.

In the following sections of this chapter a description of the race situation in South Africa is provided in order to contextualise the specific intergroup situation concerned. Then, the method of the study is outlined and its results are described. A discussion of the results concludes this chapter.

5.1 Background

Ng and Cram (1988) claim that any threat to the legitimacy of group hierarchies automatically triggers a change in intergroup relations. Along with the political changes having taken place in South Africa in the early 1990s, the legitimacy of the particular system of racial stratification in this society has not only been threatened, but to some extent even been reversed. Whereas privileges had previously been reserved for White South Africans, South Africans of colour now receive benefits in the form of policies, such as affirmative action. Hence, according to Ng and Cram, relationships between members of these groups must have changed. South Africa therefore provides an interesting backdrop for research on intergroup relations. The specific circumstances in this country provide the opportunity to investigate how group relationships change when the legitimacy of their hierarchical order is undermined. The following sections give an overview of the role of race in South Africa.

5.1.1 The Concept of Race

Before discussing race relationships it is necessary to define *race*. Its understanding in this thesis is reflected in Prah's (2002) definition of the construct (p. 12):

"The concept of race outside the bare crudities of biology is, more importantly, a social construct which evidently and historically is used to define power relations, economic and social privilege. Thus many 'blacks' and whites in the American South or apartheid South Africa would immediately acknowledge its existence, not primarily because of the differing hair textures and colour which they see around them every day, but because of the political, economic and social implications these biological features imply in social life."

When referring to race, the focus is therefore not primarily on differences in physical appearance between people, even though racial categorisation is based on these differences. Race is rather perceived as a social category which people might choose to (ab)use in order to ascribe inferiority and superiority to certain groups and at the same time to legitimise such attributions. Its legitimising function is also emphasised by Foster (1991), who describes racism as an ideology; a view that he shares with social dominance theorists.

South Africa's Apartheid system is an illustrative example of how deeply the ideology of race can be ingrained in a society. Simms (2000) argues that three influential institutions justified the ruling-class ideology of Apartheid. These are the church, the state, and the school system. The church sanctioned Apartheid and thus legitimised it; the state was affiliated with the church and institutionalised it. Finally, the schools that were regulated by the state supported Apartheid, making it appear natural. Internalisation was the consequence.

"The Whites of South Africa internalized it as a way of life, a worldview, a natural societal order, a vindication of their identity, and an assurance of their physical, cultural, political and economic superiority and ascendance. The power and privilege which apartheid, as a dominant ideology, directed to Whites, gave them a firm sense of self-confidence and poise, prompting them to view themselves as intrinsically superior to people of color."

(Simms, 2000; p. 169).

Prah (2002) and Foster (1991) concur with Simms (2000) and additionally stress that this socially imagined phenomenon of *race* has very real effects. It had severe social, economic and political implications in South Africa. Next to sex and class, Foster (1991) describes race as one of the three dominant forms of hierarchy in the country. Due to the enormous societal role that race used to play in the Apartheid era in South Africa, the legacy of this stratification system still

exerts its influence today, ten years after the country's first democratic elections (Duncan, 2002; Duncan, van Niekerk, de la Rey & Seedat, 2001).

In this thesis it is assumed that the investigation into the nature of race relationships is important for as long as the category continues to affect society. Therefore, it is essential to use the term *race*. However, this view is by no means undisputed. There are those who argue that in a society that has a long history of race-based discrimination, *race* should no longer be talked about. Franchi (2003), for instance, emphasises that whenever race is employed to explain phenomena, its existence is reaffirmed, it "is allowed to continue breathing, and reproducing its hold on our lexical and symbolic signifiers of ourselves and the world" (p. 126). Pillay (2003), on the other hand, argues that by ignoring race, people's experiences of racism in today's South Africa are invalidated instead of being recognised and fought against. Racism does not cease to exist, merely because it is no longer state supported. Foster (1991) suggests that the abolishment of the Apartheid system did actually lead to a shift in terminology. "Ethnicity" and the "protection of minority rights" (p. 371) have replaced *race*. However, Foster argues that they are nothing more than racist ideology in disguise. This might be why Pillay (2003) stresses that it would indeed be dangerous not to talk about race, thereby allowing racial ideologies to exert influence without being challenged. It is on these grounds that in this research the term is not replaced by one that is more socially acceptable, such as *ethnicity*. To assume that by simply discarding the term *race* people will eventually stop categorising those around them into racial groups seems oversimplistic. Prah (2002) rightly states that "Reality does not cease to exist, simply because we put our heads in the sand and dismiss its existence" (p. 31).

5.1.2 Race in South Africa: Past and Present

SIT assumes that group relationships are always influenced by the specific political, social and economic context in which they take place. In SDT this context plays a role, too, in so far as it determines the particular system of legitimising myths present in a society. This system in turn shapes the nature of group relationships. Both theories would thus agree that it is impossible to understand inter-racial behaviour without an understanding of the historical situation in which it emerged. South Africa is no exception. Bettencourt and Bartholow (1998), for instance, explain how the struggle for social change by Black South Africans was triggered and facilitated by social and economic circumstances. In the 1930s and 1940s there was relatively little contact between the minority group of White and the majority group of Black South Africans, as Blacks were forced to live in rural areas. Status differences remained relatively unchallenged and there was

little conflict. This changed after the Second World War. Increasing industrialisation boosted the demand for skilled labourers, which could no longer be satisfied by the high status White minority group alone. As a result, Blacks were granted access to better education and more contact with Whites. This increased the salience of the intergroup context, which, paired with a deeper insight into its injustice caused by a higher education, led Black South Africans to take collective action in order to challenge the existing oppressive stratification system. The immediate result was a stricter enforcement of Apartheid laws and the imprisonment of Black leaders. Subsequently, the White government changed to a more lenient strategy. It offered concessions, while at the same time ensuring its control over the nation and the economy. Bettencourt and Bartholow (1998) conclude that the minority/majority situation between Whites and Blacks, in combination with the illegitimate status structure, intensified conflict between the two groups. This ultimately led to the demise of Apartheid.

In order to understand race relationships in South Africa, its history of race politics needs to be taken into account. A brief overview of South Africa's race history is therefore provided in Table 5-1. More detailed summaries of South Africa's recent socio-political history can be found in Duckitt and Mputhing (1998b) and Franchi (2003).

Table 5-1 shows that a dramatic shift in race politics has taken place from the beginning of the 1990s. The emphasis on difference between, and separation of race groups was replaced by an emphasis on equality. Sennett and Foster (1996) hypothesised that these changes would either lead to race losing its importance or to an increase in its meaning. At first glance, a recent study appears to support the hypothesis that race is losing its importance (Franchi & Swart, 2003). This study investigated the identities South African undergraduate students refer to when asked to describe themselves. Only approximately one quarter of the students used overt racial identities. Previously disadvantaged groups referred to this category more often than previously advantaged groups. This is in line with Duncan (2003) who also reports a greater acceptance of racial and cultural differences among previously disadvantaged groups. Franchi and Swart's (2003) result thus seems to suggest that race is no longer a highly salient category in South Africa. However, the authors themselves are doubtful about such a conclusion. They argue that due to the long period of racial oppression and its implications for today's life it seems unlikely that race should have lost its relevance. Rather, the results should be perceived as an attempt to block out the race category, since it seems inappropriate and detrimental to the reconciliation of the country. The authors conclude that this assumption is supported by the fact that participants often referred to race more implicitly by talking about the Apartheid past and its implications for

the present and future. In addition, the use of a more liberal university sample might have led to an underestimation of the relevance of racial attitudes.

Table 5-1: Historical overview of milestones relating to race politics in South Africa

The pre-Apartheid years: 1800 – 1948	
19 th century	British distinguish between <i>Europeans</i> and <i>Coloureds</i>
1904	Native Africans (i.e. <i>Bantu-language speakers</i>) are removed from the <i>Coloured</i> category
1913	Introduction of the Natives Land Act: It introduces spatial segregation and the location of Blacks into reserves
1920s	Poverty among White Afrikaans speaking population Their socioeconomic status starts to resemble that of Black South Africans To the dismay of the ruling elite White and Black South Africans start mixing socially
1923	Introduction of the Native Urban Act: Segregation in towns is imposed
1936	Introduction of the Representation of Natives Act: The removal of voting rights for Black South Africans in the Cape colony completes the political segregation
The Apartheid years: 1948 – 1990	
1948	The National Party, which is mainly supported by White Afrikaans speaking South Africans wins the national elections and institutes the Apartheid system
1950	Introduction of the Population Registration Act: Every South African is categorised as either <i>White</i> , <i>Bantu</i> or <i>Coloured</i> (i.e. of mixed decent), <i>Indian</i> and <i>Asian</i>
1950	Introduction of the Group Areas Act: Each racial group is allocated to specific geographical areas only
1960	Sharpsville Massacres: Black South Africans' protests against the pass laws end violently with the police killing 69 demonstrators. The pass laws forced all Black South Africans to carry a reference book containing personal data at all times The African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC), which were founded and predominantly supported by Black South Africans, are banned
1961	The African National Congress (ANC) launches its armed struggle
1963/1964	Rivonia Trials: Imprisonment of a number of anti-Apartheid activists, amongst them Nelson Mandela
1976	State oppression increases after student uprisings in Soweto
1980s	Characterised by violence and the struggle to topple the system
1983	Implementation of a new constitution: Tricameral parliament for Coloureds, Indians and Whites is introduced
The transition phase: 1990 – 1994	
1990	Nelson Mandela is released from prison and anti-Apartheid organisations are unbanned
1990-1994	The ANC and the National Party conjointly rule the country in an interim government Uncertainty is expressed in political violence
1994	The ANC wins an absolute majority in the first democratic elections
Present	
1997	South Africa's new constitution is implemented, granting equal treatment to all racial groups
1999	The ANC also wins the second democratic elections
2004	The ANC extends its power to a 2/3 majority in the third democratic elections No more political violence; Unemployment, high crime rates and HIV/Aids are the predominant problems
References: Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999; Foster, 1991; Franchi, 2003; Hagemann, 2001; Louw & Foster, 2004	

A study by de la Rey and Boonzaier (2002) supports the fact that race does indeed still seem to form part of South Africans' identities. In their qualitative research with Black and Coloured participants, they found that participants rejected the racial classifications they were given during the Apartheid years, but nonetheless described themselves in different racial terms. Most Coloured participants saw themselves as Black, all of those participants that had previously been classified as *Bantu* described themselves as African. Mokgathle and Schoeman (1998) found that their Black participants, assessed approximately three years after South Africa's transformation into a democratic country, still identified strongly with their racial group, indicating a deliberate separation between themselves and other racial groups in South Africa. Nonetheless, they were striving towards ingroup-outgroup integration, reflecting a decrease in inter-racial conflict.

A general finding of these studies is that racial identities and differences still form part of South Africa's contemporary society. This is the reason for suggesting that race groups are most likely the groups individuals think about when completing the SDO scale.

5.2 Hypotheses

This section describes the hypotheses tested in Study 3. As outlined in the introduction, the study has three objectives. Firstly, it aims at assessing the ability of SDO to explain race-based discrimination in a society, in which status differences between race groups are currently in transition. Secondly, as in Study 2, it tests the relative importance of SDO, status, stability and legitimacy for the explanation of race-based discrimination. In order to investigate these two questions, the current nature of the racial stratification system needs to be established. Therefore, which racial group South Africans perceive as dominant and which as subordinate, needs to be assessed.

5.2.1 Perceptions of Socioeconomic Status

Towards the end of the Apartheid era, between 1984 and 1994, a number of studies were conducted exploring South Africans' perceptions of status hierarchies between race groups (e.g. Appelgryn, 1991; Appelgryn & Bornman, 1996; Appelgryn & Nieuwoudt, 1988; Finchilescu & de la Rey, 1991; van Dyk & Nieuwoudt, 1990). Their aim was usually to assess perceived relative group deprivation. Often, they investigated the relationship between perceptions of relative deprivation and interracial attitudes. As an assessment tool Cantril's (1965) Self-Anchoring Scale was employed. This method requires participants to indicate their past, current, future and sometimes ideal life situation with regards to their group's political, economic, social etc. situation on a ladder. Its bottom rung represents the worst possible situation, the top rung the best. By comparing the perceived own group rung to that indicated for other race groups, relative group deprivation is determined. If the own group rung is higher than that of other groups, no relative group deprivation is present. If individuals indicate the rung of the ingroup as lower than that of other groups, these individuals feel that their group is deprived in relation to other groups.

As can be inferred from Table 5-1, the South African state supported and enforced a clear hierarchical order between race groups even before, but especially during the Apartheid years. Whites were the dominant group, Coloured South Africans were treated as second class persons and Black South Africans were the most subordinate. All of the relative deprivation studies found that this reality was reflected in research participants' perceptions about their own and other racial groups' economic, social and political situation.

As this research attempts to explore these perceptions, no specific hypothesis is postulated. It investigates the nature of the stratification system between race groups with regards to socioeconomic indicators. In other words, it sets out to answer which race group is perceived as the dominant and which as the subordinate group in South Africa.

5.2.2 SDT's value in a transforming society

In order to investigate whether SDT's assumptions relating to SDO hold in a society in transformation, two hypotheses are tested.

As outlined in section 2.2.3.4, SDT expects members of dominant groups to have a higher SDO, since they derive advantages from a stratified group system. This is not the case for low status groups, who should therefore prefer equality. This is expressed in low SDO scores. The hypothesis testing this assumption states:

Hypothesis 1:

The dominant race group has the highest SDO levels.

SDT assumes that socialisation is a second factor that contributes to the level of SDO a person develops (section 2.2.3.4). The general level of SDO should therefore be higher in a cohort that was socialised in a system promoting hierarchy between groups, such as the Apartheid system, than in a cohort that grew up in a system in which equality values are promoted, such as in the contemporary South African society (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The hypothesis testing these socialisation influences states:

Hypothesis 2:

Individuals who were socialised during the Apartheid era have a higher SDO than individuals whose socialisation took place thereafter.

5.2.3 Comparison of SDT and SIT

As in Study 2, this study also investigates whether SIT or SDT are better able to account for intergroup discrimination. The assumptions of SDT and SIT with regard to intergroup discrimination have been outlined in Study 2 in section 4.2.

In addition to the variables in Study 2, in this study, ingroup identification is included as a further variable. Turner (1978) emphasised that individuals will not discriminate unless they also identify with their group. In a 1999 article, he argues that SIT does not actually specify a relation between ingroup identification and ingroup bias. However, he stresses that when combined with the salience of the intergroup context and the dimension of comparisons, as well as the socio-structural variables, ingroup identification does help to explain why people discriminate. It is thus important to consider ingroup identification in addition to perceived status, legitimacy and stability.

The hypothesis is once again formulated in such a way that no individual difference variable is seen as a determinant for intergroup discrimination. It thus corresponds to SIT's assumption.

Hypothesis 3:

Neither SDO nor SDO in interaction with status, stability, legitimacy or ingroup identification have an influence on ingroup favouritism.

5.3 Method

5.3.1 Sample and Procedure

The sampling procedure for this study is similar to the procedure employed in Study 1 (see section 3.3.1). The final sample consisted of questionnaire data from 787 participants. A description of the sample's demographic data is provided in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2: Sample structure		
Age Group	Race Group	Number
13-18	Black	104
	Coloured	107
	White	106
19-25	Black	100
	Coloured	67
	White	62
> 25	Black	69
	Coloured	85
	White	87
Total	Black	273
	Coloured	259
	White	255
Overall Total		787

The average age of the participants was 24.60 years ($SD = 11.66$). A total of 53.4% (420) participants were female, 46.6% (367) male. Of those participants that had ended their school education, 60.3% (234) possessed or were acquiring a tertiary education at the time of the study, 30.4% (118) indicated that they had no tertiary education. Participants with tertiary education were thus again strongly overrepresented. A total of 36 participants (9.3%) did not provide an answer to this item. The numbers of participants from the various sources (high schools, hospital staff, university students and research assistants) can be found in Appendix D-1.

5.3.2 Measures

As in Study 1, data was collected via self-explanatory questionnaires that were available in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa. Back-translation ensured equivalence between the three versions.

The questionnaires are provided in Appendixes A-6 to A-8. Due to the difficulties encountered with the Xhosa form of the questionnaires (see section 3.3.2), participants were again encouraged to choose the Afrikaans or English version whenever possible. In cases where participants only spoke Xhosa, research assistants assisted. A breakdown of the participant numbers per language version is depicted in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3: Number of participants by race group completing each language version of the questionnaire

	English	Afrikaans	Xhosa	Total
Black	122	1	153	276
Coloured	169	88	0	257
White	132	122	0	254
Total	423	211	153	787

As in Study 1 the research was introduced as a study about various social issues. The instructions also informed participants that the terms *Black*, *Coloured* and *White* South Africans would be used in the questionnaire. Since Coloured South Africans frequently describe themselves as *Black* (e.g. de la Rey & Boonzaier, 2002), it was highlighted that in this context *Black* referred exclusively to *African* people, making it clear that only those who were classified as *Bantu* during the Apartheid years were referred to. It was also stressed that the use of these racial terms did not imply that the researcher believed in the validity of different race groups, but that it was necessary to use them for the specific research purposes.

The questionnaire consisted of the following five sections:

1. Demographic information (7 items)
- 2a. Current, future and ideal positive social value of Black South Africans
(7 items each = 21 items in total)
- 2b. Current, future and ideal positive social value of Coloured South Africans
(7 items each = 21 items in total)
- 2c. Current, future and ideal positive social value of White South Africans
(7 items each = 21 items in total)
3. Attitudes towards Black, Coloured and White South Africans
(24 items)
4. Social Dominance Orientation (16 items)
5. Ingroup Identification (10 items)

The measures will be described in the following sections.

5.3.2.1 Demographic information

The same demographic information as in Study 1 was assessed (see section 3.3.2.1).

5.3.2.2 Current, future and ideal positive social value

The amount of *positive social value* is what distinguishes dominant (i.e. those possessing the most positive social value) from subordinate groups (i.e. those possessing the least positive social value) (see section 2.2.3.1). Participants' perceptions of the current, future and ideal levels of positive social value for different race groups were assessed with a derivation of Cantril's Self-Anchoring Scale (Cantril, 1965). As outlined in Chapter 2 this procedure has been employed in South Africa previously in order to measure perceived relative deprivation of different race groups (Appelgryn & Bornman, 1996; Finchilescu & de la Rey, 1991; van Dyk & Nieuwoudt, 1990).

Participants were asked to indicate their perception of how much (positive) social value each of three racial groups in the South African population (Black, Coloured, White) currently possesses, how much they would possess in five years time, and how much they would possess in an ideal world. For this, the scale was provided nine times. The first three scales served to assess (1) the perceived current positive social value, (2) the expected future positive social value (in five years time) and (3) the perceived ideal social value of Black South Africans. After this the same scales and instructions were used in order to assess the perceived current, future and ideal social value of Coloured and White South Africans, respectively. *Social value* was operationalised using seven of Sidanius and Pratto's (1999; p. 31/32) examples of social value indicators. Participants had to express their opinion about where Black, Coloured and White South Africans in general stand with regards to each of these indicators, that is access to nutrition/food, homes, health care, wealth, status, political power and jobs. An example of the scale is given in Figure 5-1. The scale was scored as an interval scale with scores ranging from "1" (*worst/least possible*) to "6" (*best/most possible*).

The higher the social value scores, the more *power* that race group was perceived to possess (currently, in future or in an ideal world). If the perceived social value score of one racial group was higher than that of the others, it implied that this race group was the most dominant. Using this method it was thus possible to determine how participants perceived the current, future and

ideal hierarchical status order of the three race groups. Since the ascribed social value also indicated the group's perceived socioeconomic status, socioeconomic status and social value will be used interchangeably in the remainder of this chapter.

worst possible access to		-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible access to	
	<i>nutrition/ food</i>								<i>nutrition/ food</i>
worst possible	<i>homes</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible	<i>homes</i>
worst possible	<i>health care</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible	<i>health care</i>
least possible	<i>wealth</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible	<i>wealth</i>
least possible	<i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible	<i>status</i>
least possible	<i>political power</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible	<i>political power</i>
worst possible	<i>jobs</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible	<i>jobs</i>

Figure 5-1: Scale used to assess current, future and ideal positive social value of different race groups

5.3.2.3 Attitudes towards Black, Coloured and White South Africans

Semantic differential scales were used in order to assess participants' attitudes towards Black, Coloured and White South Africans. Each group was evaluated on eight bi-polar attributes, which had been taken from Hunt (2001; see Table 5-4).

Table 5-4: Adjectives used to assess attitudes towards different race groups.

unintelligent	-	intelligent
bad mannered	-	good mannered
deceitful/dishonest	-	honest
dirty	-	clean
close-minded	-	open-minded
unreliable	-	reliable
selfish	-	unselfish
threatening	-	non-threatening

These adjectives had emerged as stereotypical of Black as well as White South Africans. This served to ensure that scores in the attitude scale were not simply reflections of stereotypes about different race groups. Since all negative attributes are seen as stereotypical of Blacks and also of

Whites, scores on these items can be seen as true indications of the participants' attitudes towards members of different race groups. Participants were provided with a 6-point-scale ranging from "1" (next to the adjective on the left of Table 5-4) to "6" (next to the adjective on the right of Table 5-4). A score between 1 and 3 thus indicated negative attitudes, scores between 4 and 6 positive attitudes.

5.3.2.4 SDO

The SDO₆ scale was used in order to assess SDO. It is described in section 3.3.2.2.

5.3.2.5 Ingroup identification

An identification scale developed by Brown et al. (1986) assessed the participants' racial identification. Participants were first required to choose from a list of groups (Asian, Black, Coloured, Indian, White) that best described them. They were then provided with ten different statements such as "I am a person who considers the group of (your choice) important", which had to be answered on a five point Likert type scale ("1" = *never feel that way*; "5" = *very often feel that way*).

The scale has shown good internal consistency in South Africa. Robins and Foster (1994), for instance, used it in order to measure ingroup identification of Jewish adolescents. The scale yielded an alpha coefficient of .80. Duckitt and Mphuthing (1998b) also employed the scale for their assessment of identification of Black South African students. In their analyses the scale had an alpha of .83 at the first time of assessment and .77 at the second time of assessment. It showed that Black participants identified rather strongly with their own group. In Duckitt and Mphuthing's research (1998a) the scale possessed an internal consistency of .80.

5.3.3 Data Analysis

Unless otherwise indicated all statistical analyses were performed with *SPSS for Windows, Release 11.0.1*.

5.4 Results

The results section begins with the findings regarding the structure and consistency of the scales employed. Descriptive statistics will also be provided for all scales, except for the social value scales (current, future, ideal). The descriptive statistics for these scales will be provided in section 5.4.2 describing the results relating to the hypotheses.

5.4.1 Current, Future and Ideal Positive Social Value

Equivalent analyses regarding the current, future and ideal positive value scales were conducted. Therefore, all three scales will be described in one section.

5.4.1.1 Structure and consistency

In order to determine the structure of the social value scales, three principal component analyses were conducted for the current positive social value, three for the future positive social value and three for the ideal positive social value.

Table 5-5: Results of principal component analyses for the current, future and ideal social value items

Current Positive Social Value				
ascribed to...	eigenvalue	Explained variance	Range of factor loadings	Complete results table
...Black South Africans	3.91	55.93%	.40-.81	Appendix D-2
...Coloured South Africans	4.52	64.57%	.57-.86	Appendix D-3
...White South Africans	4.64	66.34%	.56-.88	Appendix D-4
Future Positive Social Value				
ascribed to...	eigenvalue	Explained variance	Range of factor loading	Complete results table
...Black South Africans	4.59	65.58%	.60-.87	Appendix D-5
...Coloured South Africans	4.76	68.00%	.69-.86	Appendix D-6
...White South Africans	5.00	71.45%	.66-.89	Appendix D-7
Ideal Positive Social Value				
ascribed to...	eigenvalue	Explained variance	Range of factor loading	Complete results table
...Black South Africans	5.09	72.72%	.70-.89	Appendix D-8
...Coloured South Africans	5.18	74.04%	.74-.91	Appendix D-9
...White South Africans	5.39	76.96%	.78-.91	Appendix D-10

The first of each of these analyses included the seven items indicating the social value of Black South Africans, the second the seven items indicating the social value of Coloured South Africans and the third the seven items indicating the social value of White South Africans. The analyses revealed that each set of items can be adequately described by one single factor. Eigenvalues, explained variances and the range of factor loadings are provided in Table 5-5.

As suggested by the factor structure, the internal consistency of all scales is rather high (see Table 5-6).

Table 5-6: Internal consistencies (Cronbach α) for current, future and ideal positive social value scales

Current Positive Social Value			
ascribed to...	Cronbach α	Range of item-total correlations	Complete table of item-total correlations
...Black South Africans	.86	.32-.71	Appendix D-11
...Coloured South Africans	.90	.48-.78	
...White South Africans	.90	.47-.80	
Future Positive Social Value			
ascribed to...	Cronbach α	Range of item-total correlations	Complete table of item-total correlations
...Black South Africans	.91	.48-.80	Appendix D-12
...Coloured South Africans	.92	.60-.80	
...White South Africans	.93	.58-.83	
Ideal Positive Social Value			
ascribed to...	Cronbach α	Range of item-total correlations	Complete table of item-total correlations
...Black South Africans	.94	.61-.85	Appendix D-13
...Coloured South Africans	.94	.66-.87	
...White South Africans	.95	.72-.87	

The internal consistencies for the different language versions and for participants of different race groups are provided in Appendix D-14. They are sufficiently high for all of the subgroups. The analyses therefore suggest that it is appropriate to average the item scores into nine global social value scores, expressing the perceived current, future and ideal socioeconomic status of Black, Coloured and White South Africans.

5.4.2 Attitudes towards Black, Coloured and White South Africans

5.4.2.1 Structure and consistency

In order to determine the structure of the scales assessing attitudes towards Black, Coloured and White South Africans, three principal component analyses were conducted. The first analysis included the trait ratings for Black South Africans. It revealed one underlying factor (eigenvalue = 3.91) explaining 48.82% of variance. The lowest factor loading was .61. The items assessing attitudes towards Coloured South Africans could also be reduced to one factor. This factor had an eigenvalue of 3.95 and explained 49.40% of the variance. The lowest factor loading was .63. The third factor analysis revealed one factor for the items assessing the attitudes towards White South Africans (eigenvalue = 3.18; explained variance: 39.76%). Here, the lowest factor loading was .55 (see Appendix D-15 for all factor loadings).

The internal consistencies of the three scales were $\alpha = .85$ for the trait ratings for Black South Africans (lowest item-total correlation = .50), $\alpha = .85$ for the trait ratings of Coloured South Africans (lowest item-total correlation = .52) and $\alpha = .78$ for the trait ratings of White South Africans (lowest item-total correlation = .41; refer to Appendix D-16 for a complete table of item-total correlations).

The internal consistencies for the different language versions and participant groups are given in Table 5-7.

Table 5-7: Internal consistencies of the scales assessing the attitudes towards Black, Coloured and White South Africans

		Attitudes towards...		
		...Black South Africans	...Coloured South Africans	...White South Africans
Language	English	.85	.87	.76
	Afrikaans	.90	.91	.85
	Xhosa	.69	.69	.73
Race	Black	.71	.76	.70
	Coloured	.87	.88	.80
	White	.91	.89	.86

As the table shows, the reliabilities for the Xhosa version and for Black participants were substantially lower than for the other subgroups. It is possible that the lower reliabilities for Black participants were caused by the low internal consistency of the Xhosa form. When the

internal consistency was determined for those 115 Black participants that completed the English questionnaire form, it emerged that it did not increase substantially for the attitudes towards Black South Africans scale ($\alpha = .72$) and the attitudes towards White South Africans scale ($\alpha = .66$). It was only for the scale assessing the attitudes towards Coloured South Africans that the reliability increased considerably ($\alpha = .85$). It could thus be concluded that the lower reliability of the Xhosa version was mainly caused by a lower internal consistency of the scales for Black participants instead of being due to problems with this language form.

5.4.2.2 Descriptive data

The average attitude towards Black South Africans of all 787 Black, Coloured and White participants on the 6-point scale ranging from 1 to 6 was 3.89 (SD = 1.03). The respective mean rating of Coloured South Africans was 3.92 (SD = .98) and the mean rating of White South Africans 4.27 (SD = .86). The results thus show that the mean attitudes towards all racial groups were above “3.5” and thus rather positive.

5.4.3 SDO

5.4.3.1 Structure and consistency

Since the confirmatory factor analysis for the SDO₆ scale in Study 1 indicated that a two factor solution for the SDO₆ scale was more appropriate than a one factor solution, confirmatory factor analyses were employed in order to examine the structure of the SDO₆ scale. For the one-factor solution, Jöreskog's GFI index was only .69, indicating an inadequate fit. A two factor solution with the items phrased in the inequality direction loading on one factor (Group Based Dominance; GBD) and the items phrased in the equality direction loading on the other (Opposition to Equality; OEQ) provided a more adequate fit (GFI: .93). It was in fact significantly better ($\Delta\chi^2_1 = 1264.87$; $p < .00$) and lay above the minimum acceptable fit of .90 suggested by Bentler and Bonnet (1980). The results of the confirmatory factor analyses thus closely resembled those found in Study 1. Consequently, all subsequent analyses involving the SDO₆ scale were conducted for the complete scale as well as for its two subscales separately. To combine the scores on all 16 items into a global SDO score seemed justified, since an exploratory principal component analysis revealed that all items loaded significantly on one factor (see Appendix D-17) and because the internal consistency for the complete scale was

rather high ($\alpha = .86$). The respective internal consistencies for the OEQ and GBD scale were .88 and .83 (see Appendix D-18 for corrected item-total correlations). The scale's reliability thus corresponded to the internal consistencies found in the previous two studies.

The internal consistencies for the three language groups and the different race groups are given in Table 5-8.

Table 5-8: The internal consistency (α) of the SDO₆ scale and its two subscales OEQ and GBD for the three language versions and participants of different race groups

Category		N	α SDO ₆	N	α GBD	N	α OEQ
Language	English	399	.87	407	.84	413	.88
	Afrikaans	190	.84	204	.82	193	.88
	Xhosa	115	.74	133	.69	131	.85
Race	Black	230	.84	250	.80	248	.87
	Coloured	232	.84	246	.79	241	.92
	White	242	.90	248	.87	248	.87

As in Study 1, the reliabilities for the SDO₆ and particularly for the GBD scale were lower for the Xhosa version than for the other two language forms. In contrast to Study 1, however, this did not severely reduce the internal consistency of the scales for Black participants and was thus of no great concern.

5.4.3.2 Descriptive data and group differences

The average SDO score was 2.67 (SD = 1.12) and thus again below the mid-point of the scale (4). A univariate ANOVA with the four samples, in which SDO was assessed (Study 1, Study 2: pre-assessment, Study 2: post-assessment and Study 3) as a group factor and SDO as a dependent variable, revealed a significant main effect ($F_{3,223} = 12.25$; $p = .00$). The subsequent Scheffé test showed that the average SDO score in this sample was higher than the scores found in the previous, experimental study ($M = 2.36$ for the pre-assessment, $p < .00$; $M = 2.30$ for the post assessment, $p < .00$). It was not different from the average SDO score obtained in Study 1 ($M = 2.54$, $p = .11$).

The respective average OEQ and GBD scores in this study were 2.18 (SD = 1.29) and 3.16 (SD = 1.46). These are again rather similar to the scores found in Study 1 (OEQ: $M = 2.09$, SD = 1.16; GBD: 2.99, SD = 1.39). A MANOVA with the samples of Study 1 and 3 as groups

and OEQ and GBD as dependent variables shows that the GBD and OEQ scores in this study did not differ from those in Study 1 (Wilk's Lambda: $F_{2,1557} = 2.95$; $p = .05$).

Study 1 revealed that males had higher SDO scores than females for all race groups except for Black participants. As it was assumed that this result had to do with cultural differences rather than with the transforming nature of South African society, no hypothesis regarding gender differences was formulated in this study. However, in order to substantiate the findings of Study 1, gender differences were also explored. An independent samples t-test was performed with gender as the factor and the average SDO scores as the dependent variable. The Levene test for homogeneity of variance showed that the variances differed ($F_{785} = 8.06$; $p = .01$). As presented in Table 5-9 the appropriate t-test supported the hypothesis: Males have higher SDO scores than females. The difference between males and females was also significant and pointed in the expected direction for the two SDO subscales OEQ and GBD (Levene tests again indicated heterogeneous variances: OEQ: $F_{785} = 7.30$; $p = .01$; GBD: $F_{785} = 4.26$; $p = .04$). These results hold still true when adjusting the α -level to .017 by the Bonferoni correction in order to eradicate the influence of α -inflation.

Table 5-9: Numbers (N), means (M) and standard deviations (SD) for female and male participants t-statistics and effect sizes (d) for gender differences in SDO, OEQ and GBD scores

		N	M	SD	t-statistic	d
SDO	female	420	2.52	1.05	$t_{743.62} = 4.00$	.29
	male	367	2.84	1.17	$p < .000$	
OEQ	female	420	2.04	1.23	$t_{750.01} = 3.44$	.24
	male	367	2.35	1.33	$p < .003$	
GBD	Female	420	3.01	1.41	$t_{752.62} = 3.03$	.22
	male	367	3.33	1.51	$p < .001$	

The results were similar to those found in Study 1. The effect sizes for the difference in SDO, OEQ and GBD scores were highly similar to those found in Study 1 (Study 1: SDO: $d = .30$; OEQ: $d = .21$; GBD: $d = .26$). Gender differences in SDO were then also tested for each race group separately. The results are shown in Appendix D-19. As opposed to Study 1 Black female participants did not have higher SDO scores than Black male participants. Instead, the (small) effect sizes indicate that Black male participants had higher SDO, OEQ and GBD scores than Black female participants. The effect sizes of the gender differences for Coloured and White participants were smaller than in Study 1 (compare Appendixes B-11 and D-19).

5.4.4 Ingroup Identification

5.4.4.1 Structure and consistency

A principal component analysis was employed in order to assess the structure of the identification scale. It provided a two factor solution. The first factor had an eigenvalue of 3.28 (explained variance = 32.79%) and the eigenvalue of the second factor was 2.35 (explained variance = 23.46%). This contradicted the expected unidimensionality of the scale. However, all items loaded significantly on the first factor with factor loadings of at least .40 (see Appendix D-20). Since the scale had an adequate internal consistency ($\alpha = .76$) and as all items had item-total correlations of above .27 (see Appendix D-21) a combination of the items into one global identification score was nonetheless considered appropriate.

Internal consistencies of the scale for the three different language groups and the three race groups are provided in Table 5-10. It shows that the internal consistencies for the three language versions varied considerably, with the reliability of the Xhosa scale being rather low. However, this did not substantially decrease the internal consistency of the scale for Black participants.

Table 5-10: Internal consistencies for the identification scale

		N	Cronbach α
Language	English	408	.73
	Afrikaans	195	.83
	Xhosa	122	.66
Race	Black	235	.73
	Coloured	245	.75
	White	245	.80

5.4.4.2 Descriptive data

The average identification score was 3.81 (SD = .71) and thus above the midpoint of the scale (3). This indicated that participants generally identify strongly with their own racial group and supports the idea that race was still an important group category for South Africans.

5.4.5 Hypotheses

5.4.5.1 Perceptions of socioeconomic status

In order to investigate which racial group was perceived as possessing the highest socioeconomic status in contemporary South Africa, the scores on the three current social value scales were compared. The average current socioeconomic status ascribed to Black South Africans was 3.26 (SD = 1.17). The social value attributed to Coloured South Africans was 4.13 (SD = 1.07) and the social value ascribed to White South Africans 5.14 (SD = .94).

As a test for significance between these scores, a split plot 3 x 3 ANOVA with participant's race as between subject factor and racial group to which social value was allocated as within subject factor, was calculated. The main effects for the race to which social value was attributed and participant's race group as well as the interaction between both factors were significant (race to which social value was attributed: $F_{2,1568} = 758.71$; $p < .00$; participant's race: $F_{2,784} = 14.26$; $p < .00$; interaction: $F_{4,1568} = 17.08$; $p < .00$). Analyses of the simple effects and subsequent pairwise comparisons showed that participants of all three race groups ascribed the least social value to Black South Africans and the most social value to White South Africans. The respective effect sizes were medium to high, with a range from $d = .48$ to $d = 1.95$ (see Appendix D-21 for effect sizes and ANOVA results table). Black participants perceived their own racial group to possess less social value than Coloured ($d = .44$) and White ($d = .53$) participants. White participants indicated a lower social value for Coloured South Africans than Coloured ($d = .35$) and Black participants ($d = .28$). Coloured participants ascribed a higher social value to White South Africans than Black ($d = .31$) or White ($d = .64$) participants (see Table 5-11 for means).

Table 5-11: Participant numbers (N), mean current social value and standard deviations (in brackets)

Race of participant	N	Social value of...		
		...Black South Africans	...Coloured South Africans	...White South Africans
Black	273	2.90 (1.21)	4.21 (1.18)	5.09 (1.17)
Coloured	259	3.44 (1.23)	4.26 (1.08)	5.40 (.78)
White	255	3.47 (.94)	3.92 (.91)	4.92 (.72)

Whether participants expected that the stratification system would remain the same five years into the future and whether they desired the same stratification system in an ideal world, was also tested.

With regards to future social value, the group of Black South Africans were ascribed an average score of 4.14 (SD = 1.20). The respective means for Coloured and White South Africans were 4.42 (SD = 1.06) and 4.83 (SD = 1.10). Table 5-12 provides the means and standard deviations of future social value ascribed by Black, Coloured and White participants.

Table 5-12: Participant numbers (N), mean future social value and standard deviations (in brackets)

Race of participant	N	Future social value of...		
		...Black South Africans	...Coloured South Africans	...White South Africans
Black	273	3.71 (1.32)	4.41 (1.13)	4.94 (1.21)
Coloured	259	4.54 (1.09)	4.58 (1.05)	5.05 (.94)
White	255	4.20 (1.01)	4.27 (.96)	4.49 (1.06)

A split plot ANOVA with racial group of participant as the between subject factor and race group to which the future social value was ascribed as the within subject factor, again revealed two significant main effects as well as a significant interaction (race to which social value is ascribed: $F_{2,1568} = 93.15$; $p < .00$; race of participant: $F_{2,784} = 24.02$; $p < .00$; interaction: $F_{4,1568} = 18.14$; $p < .00$). The simple effects and post hoc pairwise comparisons showed that the following pairwise comparisons were statistically significant. Black participants saw the future social value of their own group as significantly lower than Coloured ($d = .69$) and White participants ($d = .42$). White participants expected a higher social value for Black ($d = .32$) and Coloured South Africans ($d = .31$) in five year's time than Coloured participants. Black ($d = .28$) and Coloured participants ($d = .21$) anticipated the future status of White South Africans as higher than White participants.

Black participants perceived the future social value to be lower for their own race group than for Coloured South Africans ($d = .57$). They saw White South Africans as having the highest future social value (difference Coloured/White: $d = .46$; difference Black/White: $d = .98$). White and Coloured participants indicated that the social value of White participants in five years' time would be higher than that of Coloured and Black South Africans (effect sizes vary between $d = .22$ and $d = .51$, see Appendix D-23). This indicated that Black participants expected the status hierarchy to remain the same, whereas Coloured and White participants anticipated

current status differences between Black and Coloured South Africans to disappear in five year's time. All ANOVA and pairwise comparison results, as well as all effect sizes, are given in Appendix D-23.

For the ideal social value the average score ascribed to Black South Africans was 4.79 (SD = 1.21), the average score ascribed to Coloured South Africans was 4.94 (SD = 1.09) and that ascribed to White South Africans 5.09 (SD = 1.08). That is, although differences in the amount of ideal ascribed social value were lower than for the current and future social value scores, White South Africans were seen as deserving more social value than Black and Coloured South Africans. Table 5-13 shows that this finding was mainly due to differences in the ideal social value ascribed by White and Black participants.

Table 5-13: Participant numbers (N), mean ideal social value and standard deviations (in brackets)

Race of participant	N	Ideal social value of...		
		...Black South Africans	...Coloured South Africans	...White South Africans
Black	273	4.45 (1.40)	4.62 (1.24)	4.72 (1.35)
Coloured	259	4.97 (.95)	5.21 (.81)	5.08 (.93)
White	255	4.79 (1.21)	5.03 (1.08)	5.49 (1.08)

In order to test whether these differences in ascribed ideal social value were statistically significant, once again, a split plot 3 x 3 ANOVA was conducted, this time with race of participant as the between subject factor and all groups to which ideal social value was ascribed as the within subject factor. As for the current and ideal social value, both main effects as well as the interaction were significant (ideal social value: $F_{2,1568} = 23.49$; $p < .00$; race: $F_{2,784} = 36.45$; $p < .00$; ideal social value x race: $F_{4,1568} = 7.80$; $p < .00$). Simple effect analyses, followed by pairwise comparisons, showed that Black participants ascribed a lower ideal social value to all racial groups than did Coloured and White participants (effect sizes vary between $d = .35$ and $d = .75$; see Appendix D-24). White participants wished for more ideal social value for White South Africans than Coloured participants ($d = .50$; a complete table of results can be found in Appendix D-24).

All three participant groups desired inequality in social value between Black, Coloured and White South Africans in an ideal world. However, the nature of this inequality appears differently for each participant group. A low effect of $d = .20$ emerged for the finding that Black participants would like their own race group to possess less social value than White South Africans in an

ideal world. With medium effect sizes, White participants ideally saw their own group as having more social value than Coloured ($d = .52$) or Black South Africans ($d = .57$). Coloured South Africans on the other hand wanted Black South Africans to have less social value than their own group ($d = .27$).

Figure 5-2 provides a comparison of the current, future and ideal social value ascribed to Black, Coloured and White South Africans by participants of these racial groups.

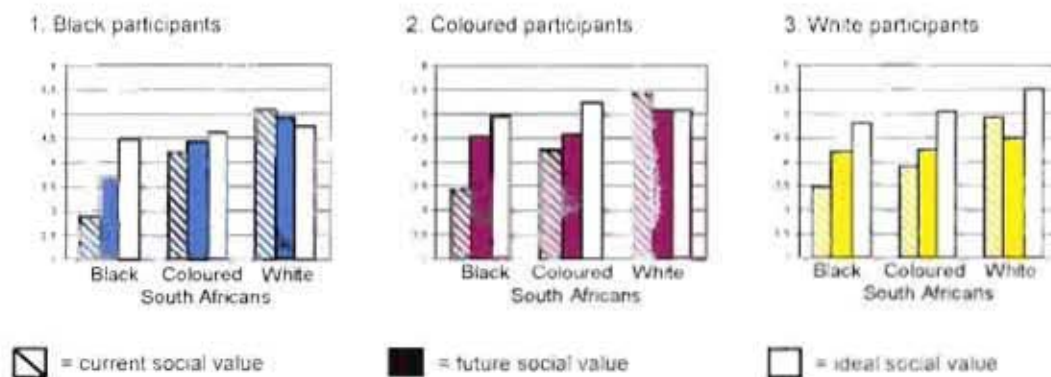


Figure 5-2: Current, future and ideal social value as ascribed by Black, Coloured and White participants to Black, Coloured and White South Africans

In summary, the results revealed that White South Africans were perceived as the dominant race group in South Africa, followed by Coloured and Black South Africans. White South Africans were expected to remain the dominant group over the following 5 years. However, White and Coloured participants expected that the difference in socioeconomic status between Black and Coloured South Africans will have disappeared in five year's time. Black participants indicated that the socioeconomic dominance of White South Africans over Black South Africans was justified since this participant group desired the same relationship under ideal circumstances. Equally so, White participants indicated that they deserved to dominate over Coloured and Black South Africans, whereas Coloured participants indicated that they deserved more socioeconomic status than Black South Africans.

5.4.5.2 SDT's value in a transforming society

Hypothesis 1: The dominant race group has the highest SDO levels.

A univariate ANOVA was conducted with race group of participant as the factor and SDO as the dependent variable in order to test the hypothesis that the dominant race group had the highest SDO levels. It revealed a significant result ($F_{2,784} = 11.06$; $p < .00$). The post hoc Scheffé test showed that the subordinate group of Black participants had the highest SDO level ($M = 2.93$) while Coloured and White participants' scores were significantly lower ($p < .00$ for both comparisons; $M_{\text{White}} = 2.54$; $M_{\text{Coloured}} = 2.53$; comparison Coloured and White participants: $p = .99$). The respective effect sizes are provided in Table 5-14.

Table 5-14: Effect sizes (d) for differences in SDO between the three race groups

Comparison			d
Black	-	Coloured	0.37
Black	-	White	0.33
Coloured	-	White	0.01

Since in the present study, as in Study 1, the internal consistency of the Xhosa version of the SDO₆ scale was lower than for the other two language forms, the analyses were repeated including only those participants who had completed the English questionnaire. Again, the differences in SDO₆ scores between race groups were significant ($F_{2,420} = 3.80$; $p = .02$). The Scheffé test showed that as in the complete sample, Black participants had higher SDO scores than White participants ($p = .02$). There was no difference between the average SDO scores of Coloured and White ($p = .35$) or Coloured and Black participants ($p = .33$; $M_{\text{Black}} = 2.46$; $M_{\text{Coloured}} = 2.28$; $M_{\text{White}} = 2.10$). This result corresponds to Study 1, in which Black participants also had comparatively high SDO and GBD scores (Table 3-21). However, in Study 1 this difference was not statistically tested.

A MANOVA with OEQ and GBD as dependent variables and race of participant as factor was conducted in order to test for differences between race groups in OEQ and GBD scores, revealed a significant result (Wilk's Lambda: $F_{4,1566} = 14.34$; $p < .00$). The univariate analyses provided a significant main effect for race in both GBD and OEQ (GBD: $F_{2,784} = 19.65$; $p < .00$; OEQ: $F_{2,784} = 6.78$; $p < .00$). A post hoc Scheffé test showed that in GBD, that is the desire for own group dominance, White participants had the lowest score ($M = 2.78$), Coloured

participants the second lowest score ($M = 3.11$) and Black participants the highest score ($M = 3.56$; comparison Coloured/White: $p = .03$; all other p 's $< .00$). For OEQ, that is the desire for group hierarchy in general, the only significant difference was between Coloured participants and the two other participant groups ($M_{\text{Coloured}} = 1.95$; $M_{\text{Black}} = 2.30$; $M_{\text{White}} = 2.31$; p 's $= .01$; comparison Black/White: $p = 1.00$). The effect sizes are shown in Table 5-15.

Table 5-15: Effect sizes (d) for differences in GBD and OEQ between the three race groups

GBD			
Comparison			d
Black	-	Coloured	.31
Black	-	White	.53
Coloured	-	White	.24
OEQ			
Comparison			d
Black	-	Coloured	.27
Black	-	White	.01
Coloured	-	White	.29

The results thus contradict the hypothesis in that with a low to medium effect size the dominant group of White participants showed the lowest SDO and GBD levels in all cases. Instead, the subordinate group of Black participants had the highest SDO and GBD scores. In OEQ, the general desire for inequality, with a medium size effect, the group of Black participants had higher scores than the comparatively higher status group of Coloured participants.

In South Africa, race and education level are still interwoven. Comparatively more White South Africans possess tertiary education than Black South Africans. Study 1 revealed that participants with tertiary education had lower SDO scores than participants without. It therefore needed to be clarified whether the Black participants had the highest levels of SDO, simply because more Black participants than participants of other race groups had not acquired a tertiary education. This was tested in a 2 (educational level) \times 3 (race) ANOVA with SDO as the dependent variable. The two main effects for race group ($F_{2,348} = 3.41$; $p = .03$) and education level ($F_{1,348} = 14.59$; $p < .00$) were statistically significant. However, the interaction between race group and education level remained statistically insignificant, indicating that differences in SDO scores between race groups were not only caused by different levels of education between the race groups. The full ANOVA results table is shown in Appendix D-25.

Hypothesis 2: Individuals who were socialised during the Apartheid era have a higher SDO than individuals whose socialisation took place thereafter.

In order to test this hypothesis, participants were categorised into three age groups. Those participants that were between five and ten years old at the time of South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 were placed into age group 1. Most of their socialisation had taken place after Apartheid had ended. Participants of age group 2 are those that were between eleven and seventeen years at the time, so that they had been socialised partly before the end of Apartheid and partly thereafter. Participants of age group 3 were at least eighteen years at the time of the 1994 elections, so that it can be assumed that they were mainly socialised during the Apartheid era. In order to support the hypothesis, SDO scores of participants in age group 3 must therefore be higher than SDO scores of participants in age group 1.

An ANOVA was performed with age group as the factor and SDO as the dependent variable. As predicted, it yielded a significant effect ($F_{2,784} = 39.03$; $p < .00$). However, a Scheffé test revealed that, contrary to the stated hypothesis, participants in the youngest age group had the highest SDO scores ($M = 3.07$), followed by participants in age group 2 ($M = 2.53$). Participants in age group 3 had the lowest SDO level ($M = 2.29$) (comparison age group 2 and 3: $p = .04$; all other p 's $< .00$). The respective effect sizes for these differences are provided in Table 5-16.

Table 5-16: Effect sizes (d) for differences in SDO between the three age groups

Comparison	d
Age group 1 - Age group 2	.50
Age group 1 - Age group 3	.73
Age group 2 - Age group 3	.23

A MANOVA with GBD and OEQ as the dependent variables and age group as the factor variable revealed a similar result. The main effect for age group was significant ($F_{2,784} = 24.45$; $p = .01$). Scheffé tests showed again that for the general desire for inequality (OEQ), participants of age group 1 had higher scores than participants of age group 2, who in turn had higher scores than participants in age group 3 ($M_{\text{age group 1}} = 2.54$; $M_{\text{age group 2}} = 2.11$; $M_{\text{age group 3}} = 1.79$; comparison age group 2/age group 3: $p = .02$; all other p 's $< .00$). For the desire for own group dominance (GBD), only the difference between age group 1 and the other two age groups was significant. ($M_{\text{age group 1}} = 3.58$; $M_{\text{age group 2}} = 2.96$; $M_{\text{age group 3}} = 2.79$; comparison age group 2/age group 3:

$p = .02$; comparison age group 2/age group 3: $p = .45$; all other p 's $< .00$). The effect sizes are shown in Table 5-17.

Table 5-17: Effect sizes (d) for differences in GBD and OEQ between the three age groups

GBD	
Comparison	d
Age group 1 - Age group 2	.45
Age group 1 - Age group 3	.55
Age group 2 - Age group 3	.12
OEQ	
Comparison	d
Age group 1 - Age group 2	.34
Age group 1 - Age group 3	.60
Age group 2 - Age group 3	.27

The data did thus not support the hypothesis. Contrary to expectations, but in line with the results of Study 1, the youngest participants possessed the highest SDO, OEQ and GBD scores with effect sizes varying between $d = .34$ (difference between age group 1 and age group 2 in OEQ) and $d = .73$ (difference between age group 1 and age group 3 in SDO).

5.4.5.3 Comparison of SDT and SIT

Hypothesis 3: Neither SDO nor SDO in interaction with status, stability, legitimacy or ingroup identification have an influence on ingroup favouritism.

Scores of perceived ingroup status, perceived legitimacy and stability, and ingroup bias first needed to be established in order to explore this hypothesis.

The mean perceived ingroup status was calculated by using the mean scores for the current positive social value of Black South Africans, the current positive social value of Coloured South Africans and the current positive social value of White South Africans. The difference between the ascribed positive value to the own racial group and the average of the positive social value ascribed to the two outgroups was determined. A negative score would mean that the status of the ingroup was perceived as lower than the average status of the outgroups. A positive score would indicate that the status of the own group was perceived as higher than that of the other two race groups. A score of 0 would imply that there were no differences in status between the

own and the average of the two outgroups. In order to categorise participants into either high or low status, participants that perceived their own group to possess less status than the other two racial groups, that is those who had a negative status score, were given a status level of “-1”. Participants who saw the racial group they themselves belonged to as of equal status to the other two racial groups were allocated a status score of “0”. Finally, those who saw their own racial group as having more status than the other two race groups were given a status level of “1”. In total, 394 participants perceived their own racial group as having low status, 11 perceived no difference and 373 saw their own race group as having higher status than the other two. For the subsequent analyses, those 11 participants who perceived their own racial group’s status as equal to the two others were excluded from all further analyses due to the small number of cases in this category. A chi square test of contingency showed that race of participant and status perceptions were associated ($\chi^2_2 = 306.83$; $p < .00$). The numbers of participants of the different racial groups that perceived their own group status as high or low and standardised residuals are shown in Table 5-18. In order to determine which cells contain more or less than the expected number of observations, the standardised residuals were compared to the critical z-value (Hays, 1988). Since six comparisons needed to be made, the significance level was corrected to .0083 using the Bonferoni correction. It yielded a critical z-value of 2.40 (two-tailed test) and showed that more White participants than expected perceived themselves as having high status and less than expected as having low status. The opposite was the case for Black participants. This thus reflected the perceived standing of the three race groups in South African society.

Table 5-18: Numbers of participants of different race groups who perceived their group status as high or low (standardised residuals in brackets)

Race of participant	high	low
Black	37 (-8.2)	233 (8.0)
Coloured	109 (- .9)	136 (.9)
White	227 (9.4)	25 (-9.2)
Total	373	394

As Caddick (1982) has summarised, *legitimacy* has been conceptualised in different ways. In this thesis, it is understood as the awareness that the possibility for a different form of group stratification system exists, which is one of the more common definitions of legitimacy in SIT. It can be assumed that those participants that indicated that the status hierarchy between Black, Coloured and White South Africans in an ideal world should be different to today’s hierarchy,

perceived the current status hierarchy as illegitimate. Participants that indicated the same hierarchy between Black, Coloured and White South Africans as current and ideal hierarchy, saw the intergroup status situation as legitimate.

For all participants it was therefore determined which form of hierarchy they currently perceive and which form of hierarchy they desired in an ideal world. Appendix D-26 gives an overview of the possible forms of hierarchical relationships between the three race groups.

Participants were given a legitimacy score of "0", indicating legitimacy, if their perceived current and desired ideal status hierarchy between Black, Coloured and White South Africans was the same. If the two status hierarchies were different, participants received a legitimacy score of "1", indicating illegitimacy. In total, 128 participants perceived the status hierarchy between racial groups as legitimate and 659 participants as illegitimate. The Pearson chi square test of contingency shows that the observed cell sizes deviate from the expected cell sizes ($\chi^2_2 = 9.59$; $p = .008$). The numbers of Black, Coloured and White participants who perceived the status hierarchy as legitimate or illegitimate and the standardised residuals are given in Table 5-19. Adopting once again a critical z-value of 2.40 (see above) the standardised residuals showed that no particular cell size deviated significantly from the expected. This indicated that among all race groups, fewer participants perceived the intergroup situation as legitimate, than as illegitimate.

Table 5-19: Numbers of participants of different race groups who perceived the intergroup relation as legitimate or illegitimate (standardised residuals in brackets)

Race of participant	legitimate	illegitimate
Black	58 (2.3)	212 (-1.0)
Coloured	28 (-1.8)	217 (.8)
White	33 (- .6)	216 (.3)
Total	122	645

The stability score was calculated in a similar manner to the legitimacy score. However, instead of the ideal social value scores, the expected future social value scores were used. A stability score of "0" indicated that the person perceived the status hierarchy between Black, Coloured and White South Africans as stable, or in other words, the perceived current status hierarchy was the same as the anticipated future hierarchy. A stability score of "1" indicated instability. There were 308 participants who perceived the intergroup situation as stable and 479 participants who saw it as unstable (see Table 5-20).

Table 5-20: Numbers of participants of different race groups who perceived the intergroup relation as stable or unstable (standardised residuals in brackets)

Race of participant	stable	unstable
Black	126 (2.0)	144 (-1.6)
Coloured	88 (- .8)	157 (.6)
White	85 (-1.3)	169 (1.1)
Total	299	468

A Pearson chi square test of contingency again revealed differences in the perceived stability between participant groups ($\chi^2_2 = 10.04$; $p < .007$). The analysis of the residuals revealed no significant differences in the various cell sizes when adopting a critical z-value of 2.40, indicating that fewer Black, Coloured and White participants saw the status structure as stable than as unstable.

The amount of ingroup bias participants displayed was calculated using the trait ratings. The mean attitude scores towards the two outgroups were averaged and deducted from the mean attitude score towards the ingroup. A positive bias score thus indicated that the ingroup was favoured over the average of the outgroups, a negative bias score showed that the person held more positive attitudes towards the average of the outgroups than towards the ingroup. A score of zero indicated that a person preferred neither the own nor the other race groups. The average ingroup bias score was .55 (SD: 1.04; min: -3.31; max: 5.00; on a scale ranging from -5 to 5). This value was significantly different from 0 and thus indicated a slight preference for the own group ($t_{694} = 13.96$; $p < .00$).

An ANOVA with race as the factor variable and ingroup bias as the dependent variable revealed a significant main effect ($F_{2,784} = 18.45$; $p < .00$). A post hoc Scheffé test showed that White participants held more positive attitudes towards their ingroup than Coloured and Black participants ($M_{\text{Black participants}}: .40$; $M_{\text{Coloured participants}}: .34$; $M_{\text{White participants}}: .83$; p 's $< .00$; comparison Black/Coloured: $p = .69$). The respective effect sizes are shown in Table 5-21.

Table 5-21: Effect sizes (d) for differences in ingroup bias between the three race groups

Comparison	d
Black - Coloured	.06
Black - White	.46
Coloured - White	.48

In order to test the hypothesis that the socio-structural variables, but not SDO, influence ingroup bias, an ANOVA was conducted including status, legitimacy, stability, ingroup identification and SDO levels as factor variables. In order to include identification and SDO as factor variables, median splits were conducted to classify participants as high or low in identification and SDO respectively (median SDO: 2.5625; median identification: 3.80). Ingroup bias served as the dependent variable. The analysis revealed significant main effects for SDO and significant interactions between SDO and status and SDO, status and legitimacy (see Table 5-22; the full ANOVA result table is presented in Appendix D-27).

Table 5-22: F-values and significant levels for ANOVAs including SDO, GBD or OEQ as factor variables as well as ingroup identification, status, legitimacy and stability and ingroup bias as dependent variable

Effects	ANOVA including...		
	...SDO	...OEQ	...GBD
SDO/OEQ/GBD	$F_{1,735} = 5.31; p = .021$		$F_{1,735} = 7.39; p = .007$
Status		$F_{1,735} = 9.40; p = .002$	$F_{1,735} = 11.80; p = .001$
Legitimacy		$F_{1,735} = 12.00; p = .001$	$F_{1,735} = 4.16; p = .042$
Status x Legitimacy		$F_{1,735} = 4.75; p = .030$	$F_{1,735} = 4.18; p = .041$
Identification x Stability		$F_{1,735} = 5.79; p = .016$	
SDO/OEQ/GBD x Status	$F_{1,735} = 14.33; p < .000$	$F_{1,735} = 4.22; p = .040$	$F_{1,735} = 6.16; p = .013$
SDO/OEQ/GBD x Status x Legitimacy	$F_{1,735} = 4.20; p = .041$		

As would have been predicted by SDT, those with a high level of SDO showed more ingroup bias than those with a low SDO level ($M_{\text{low SDO}} = .36$; $M_{\text{high SDO}} = .70$; $d = .35$). The interaction between SDO and status is shown in Figure 5-3 (for means and standard deviations see Appendix D-28). For participants who saw themselves as belonging to a low status group, those with low SDO levels showed an almost equal amount of ingroup favouritism compared to those low status participants with a high level of SDO. High SDO participants in the high status group, on the other hand, favoured their own group more than high status group members with a low level of SDO. For low status group members SDO level had only a minimal influence on the extent of ingroup favouritism displayed, whereas for high status group members, a higher SDO level was related to more ingroup favouritism.

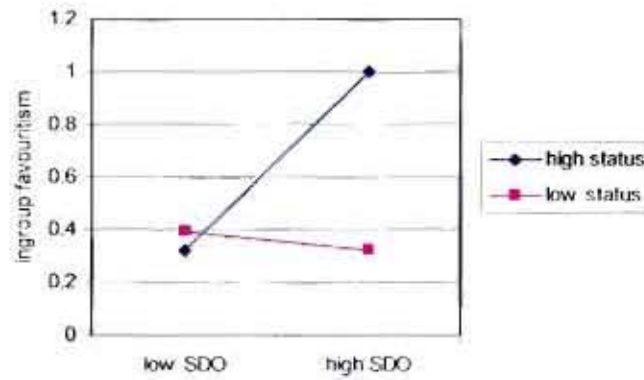


Figure 5-3: Interactive effects of SDO and status on ingroup favouritism

The three-way interaction between legitimacy, status and SDO is shown in Figure 5-4. It was similar to the interaction between group status and SDO shown in Figure 5-3. For participants with a high level of SDO, those that perceived themselves as high status group members always showed higher ingroup favouritism than those who saw their own group as low status group. This difference was more pronounced for those that perceived the intergroup situation as legitimate. Participants who perceived the intergroup situation as legitimate and their own race group as possessing low status showed more favouritism towards their own group when they had a low level of SDO than when they had a high level of SDO. This result is similar to SDT's predictions. However, SDT would have expected that low status group members with a low SDO display more favouritism towards their own group than high status group members with a low level of SDO (Federico, 1998). In this case, there was no difference in the extent to which high and low status participants with a low level of SDO favoured their own group.

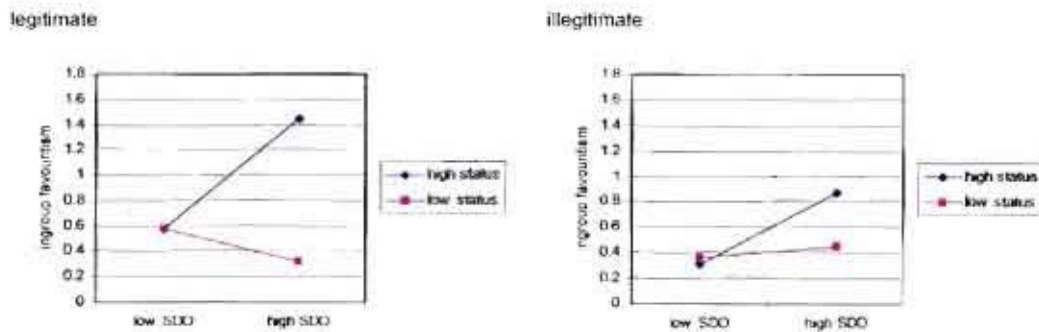


Figure 5-4: Interactive effects of SDO, status and legitimacy on ingroup favouritism

Thus the results did not support the hypothesis. None of the socio structural variables by themselves influenced the amount of ingroup favouritism displayed. Only status in interaction with SDO and status and legitimacy in interaction with SDO influenced the amount of intergroup discrimination. SDO on its own also had a significant effect. It needs to be pointed out, though, that the results have to be interpreted with caution. As Appendix D-29 shows, some cells sizes were rather small, with three cells including only one participant. This was due to the fact that comparatively few participants regarded the current racial stratification as legitimate, particularly among those who saw their own group as possessing high status. However, the low number of cases in some of the cells was only relevant for the higher order interactions. As none of these were statistically significant it was concluded that their influence could be neglected.

Since SDO's two subscales, *Group Based Dominance* (GBD) and *Opposition to Equality* (OEQ), have been found to have differential effects from SDO (Jost & Thompson, 2000), the same ANOVA was repeated twice. In the first repetition SDO level was replaced by OEQ level, in the second it was substituted with the level of GBD. The significant results are shown in Table 5-22, the full ANOVA tables are displayed in Appendixes D-30 and D-31. Appendixes D-32 to D-35 show the respective cell means, standard deviations and cell sizes. As Table 5-22 indicated, the hypothesis was not supported, either, when replacing SDO by OEQ or GBD. OEQ as well as GBD influenced the amount of ingroup bias, although for OEQ this was only the case in interaction with status.

The results appear differently for all three ANOVAs. Only the interaction between status and SDO (or GBD or OEQ) was significant in all three cases. When including OEQ or GBD levels instead of SDO, participants differed in their amount of ingroup bias on the structural variables status and legitimacy. This was not the case when categorising participants according to their SDO levels.

Finally, it needs to be pointed out that the dichotomisation of variables through median splits, as performed for SDO and ingroup identification in the analyses for this hypothesis, may be controversial. Median splits into 0/1 categories artificially increase differences between similar people, if they have scores slightly below or above the median. On the other hand, differences between individuals with extreme scores are artificially decreased. Moreover, as mentioned above, in this study the dichotomisation of two variables led to the effect that some of the 32 cells resulting from the $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVA only had a small number of cases.

A way to account for these problems is to resort to multiple regression analyses. However, this option was not chosen in this dissertation. For the analysis of Hypothesis 3 main effects and interactions were of interest. SIT explicitly states that status, legitimacy, stability and ingroup identification not only influence the amount of discrimination on their own, but also in interaction with each other (see section 5.2.3 and Study 2, section 4.2). Consequently, when performing a multiple regression analysis main effects and interactions would have to be included as predictor variables. In multiple regression, the value of a predictor - expressed as its beta value - is determined by the amount of variance in the criterion variable that is exclusively explained by this specific predictor and by none of the other predictors. When including the interactions between the variables in addition to their main effects, each variable occurs more than once in the predictor variables (as main effect and in the interactions). The amount of unique variance explained by each individual predictor is therefore reduced. In the worst case, it is reduced to such an extent that the variable no longer contributes significantly to explaining the variance in the criterion variable. It is for this reason that various authors warn against the inclusion of interactions as predictor variables in multiple regression (e.g. Arnold, 1982; Morris, Sherman, & Mansfield, 1986). In fact, when conducting a multiple regression analysis with the current data set, no significant results emerged (*predictor variables*: SDO (continuous variable), ingroup identification (continuous variable), status (categorical variable), stability (categorical variable), legitimacy (categorical variable), all interactions between the predictor variables, *criterion variable*: ingroup bias; see Appendix D-36 for results).

The use of ANOVAs makes it possible to consider the main effects of the relevant variables as well as their interactions. The problems arising from the dichotomisation of variables that this procedure requires were tolerated due to the greater benefit that was gained by being able to examine the influence of the variable interactions.

5.5 Discussion

The following sections provide a summary and interpretation of the main results, as well as a commentary on the methodology used in this research. It ends with some concluding comments.

5.5.1 Summary and Interpretation of Results

The present study set out to investigate whether SIT's socio-structural variables or SDT's variable SDO would be better able to explain racial intergroup attitudes in a society in which the status order between race groups has recently been threatened and possibly changed. To this end, the research began with an examination into the perceived hierarchy between race groups in South Africa. It subsequently tested the applicability of the concept of SDO in a society in transition and finally looked at its value in comparison to SIT's socio-structural variables. All of the results will be presented and discussed in the following sections.

5.5.1.1 Perceptions of socioeconomic status

In order to compare the utility of SIT and SDT in the South African context, it was first necessary to establish how South Africans themselves perceive the hierarchical order of race groups in their society with regards to social indicators. To this end, Black, Coloured and White adolescents and adults were asked to indicate how much social value the three racial groups generally possess. In SIT terms, this served to establish which race group would have the highest status. SDT talks about dominant rather than high status groups. It specifies that the dominant group in a society is characterised by holding the greatest proportion of positive social value and thus the greatest power (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). It was concluded that the group with the highest social value score could be considered the high status or most dominant group.

The main finding of this research is that the perceived racial stratification system has not changed compared to the one found in the 1980s and early 1990s. White South Africans were unanimously perceived as the dominant group, possessing the highest amount of socioeconomic status, followed by Coloured and Black South Africans. Participants indicated that they did not expect this hierarchical order to change over the next five years, despite an expected assimilation of socioeconomic status brought about by a decline of status for White South Africans and an increase of status for Black South Africans. The result thus indicates that participants expected a certain amount of stability in the hierarchical order of race groups in their country. This conforms to SDT's assumption of hierarchical group orders being resistant to change (Pratto et

al., 1994). The finding that in future the status of Black South Africans was expected to rise and that of White South Africans to fall is consistent with previous research (see Chapter 2).

Interestingly, even when asked to indicate the socioeconomic status of race groups under ideal circumstances, that is in an ideal world, White South Africans were allocated more status than the remaining two race groups. The findings revealed that this was mainly caused by Black and White participants wishing a relatively higher socioeconomic status for White South Africans. SIT is able to explain this result for White participants. It is an indication of strong ingroup favouritism, which is a typical finding for high status groups, especially when their group's status is threatened. As Skevington (1981) outlines, threat to a high status individual's positive identity increases positive attributions to the high status group in order to increase its distinctiveness from low status groups. Recent research supports this assumption (Cadinu & Reggiori, 2002). Status threat due to a loss of political influence and job opportunities in comparison to other race groups might be a rather common experience among White South Africans (Appelgryn & Bornman, 1996). As reflected in this study, White South Africans are perceived to possess the highest amount of positive social value and therefore have the most status to lose. Furthermore, with policies actively empowering South Africans of colour, such as affirmative action, this threat is even more real. Thus, whereas equality between racial groups implies an improvement of the current situation for Coloured and Black participants, for White participants, equality could mean a decrease in their standard of living. This is indeed what participants predicted would happen over the next five years. In addition, White participants might have indicated that their own group is more deserving of socioeconomic status since they need to justify why their group currently possesses more. It might express the view that White South Africans have a higher socioeconomic status exactly because they deserve it.

The question remains as to why Black participants desired a higher status for White South Africans, thereby derogating their own race group. It could well mean that Black participants have internalised the allegation that they are inferior to the White and Coloured populations, as this is what the South African Apartheid system had been claiming for decades (Spears et al., 2001). Another possible explanation arises out of a study by Ancok and Chertkoff (1983). In their research, participants that had performed poorly allocated more money to high performers than high performers themselves. One of Ancok and Chertkoff's initial explanations for this result was that seeing oneself as a low performer might evoke feelings of being particularly unworthy. Obviously, in the present study the level of *performance* of Black participants - in this case their socioeconomic status - lies to a large extent beyond their control. However, it is possible that Black participants see themselves as low performers when compared to White

South Africans. This might be the reason why Black participants allocated more ideal social value to White South Africans than to their own group.

Interestingly, the item *political power* had consistently low factor loadings and item-total correlations on the current, future and ideal social value scales. This is a close reflection of South Africa's political situation. As outlined in Chapter 2, White South Africans possess the highest socioeconomic status, but not the most political power. This in turn is in the hands of the African National Congress (ANC), a traditionally and predominantly Black supported party.

Finally, a point needs to be raised with regards to the way this study measured socioeconomic status. In order to make inferences about the status of race groups in South Africa, participants' perceptions of the status of different race groups was assessed, not their actual socioeconomic status. However, SIT specifically emphasises that perceptions of the intergroup situation are important and not the factual intergroup situation as such. Besides, research has shown that people are well able to evaluate the status of different groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a).

5.5.1.2 SDT's value in a transforming society

Two predictions were derived from SDT with regards to SDO. Firstly, the assumption that the dominant group would have the highest SDO was tested. SDT expects the societal hierarchy to be reflected in SDO levels. The results regarding the ideal social value led to the expectation that this would indeed be the case. The dominant group of White participants had indicated the greatest desire for differences between racial groups in their evaluation of the ideal world. The desire for difference or inequality is how SDO is defined (see section 2.2.3.4). The same result was therefore expected to occur with regards to SDO levels for participants of the three different race groups included in this study.

However, the data did not support the hypothesis. It was not the dominant group that had the highest SDO scores. Instead the most subordinate group (Black participants) possessed the greatest desire for group-based hierarchy in general, as well as the greatest desire for own group dominance. This result thus contradicts the findings of Heaven et al. (2000), in whose research Black South African university students had lower SDO levels than White South African university students. Equally so, White university students in Study 2 had higher SDO scores than participants of other race groups. It is possible that the deviation in results between Heaven et al. (2000) and Study 2 on the one hand and the present study on the other hand was caused by the specific samples employed. In Heaven et al.'s research as well as in Study 2 the samples were comprised of university students, whereas the sample in this study was more representative of

the South African population. It included participants with different educational backgrounds. It is thus possible that the conflation between race and education level is responsible for the differing results. Study 1 revealed that participants without tertiary education had higher SDO scores than participants with tertiary education. Since comparatively more White South Africans have acquired higher education than Black South Africans, education level more than belongingness to a race group might have determined the result that Black South Africans had higher SDO scores than participants of other race groups. It is possible that when education level is controlled for, such as in Study 2, the typical results with lower SDO levels for members of subordinate groups might occur. This explanation was not supported by the data. Even when including education level in the analysis, SDO differences between race groups remained.

There are various possible explanations for the finding that the subordinate group of Black participants had higher SDO scores than the dominant group of White participants. As argued previously, it is conceivable that the SDO₆ scale might have measured ethnocentrism or racism rather than a general attitude towards group relationships (Schmitt et al., 2003). Due to South Africa's history, race is such a highly salient category that when talking about group differences in general people might automatically think of differences between race groups. In the current research this seems particularly likely, since the administration of the SDO₆ scale followed the scales assessing the perceived current, future and ideal socioeconomic status of different race groups. Participants had therefore been primed towards race before completing the SDO₆ scale. If it was perceived as an ethnocentrism measure, White participants might have answered more moderately on the SDO₆ scale in order to remain politically correct. Since the White population of South Africa was responsible for racial discrimination in the past, White participants might feel pressurised not to portray views, which could be interpreted as racist. Thus for some participants their answers on the SDO₆ scale might not reflect their real opinion. Black participants, on the other hand, possibly feel freer to talk about racial inequality. Judd, Parker, Ryan, Bauer and Kraus (1995) raise this as one potential reason for their finding that White Americans were discriminated against to a greater extent by African Americans than vice versa. Although they later dismiss this explanation, it might very well be the case for White South Africans, who possibly feel more guilt about racial inequalities than White US Americans. Judd et al. (1995) argue that whereas the White American culture discourages the categorisation of people into ethnic groups, in the African American culture emphasis is put on the importance of ethnicity. This might also be the case in South Africa, where research has found that racial and cultural differences are given greater recognition among the previously disadvantaged groups (Duncan, 2003). However, if this was the case, White participants should not have desired

inequality between race groups on the ideal positive social value scale, either. Instead, they should also have been careful not to allocate more positive social value to their own group than to the other two race groups. It is however possible that the social value scales were a more subtle way of assessing the desire for inequality than the SDO scale, where the items explicitly assess opinions about group (in)equality. This might also explain why a different result regarding SDO emerged in Study 2. In Study 2, the items of the SDO₆ scale were not embedded in questions about race groups. Even if participants had thought about race while completing the scale, they might have perceived it as a more subtle way to express their desire for inequality between race groups, since race itself was never mentioned.

Another possible explanation for the finding that Blacks are most in favour of group-based inequality is that, although Black participants do not yet belong to the high status group, there is the belief that due to the recent political changes they might soon possess the most political and economic power. That is, Black South Africans see themselves as being on the way to becoming the dominant group. This perception might already be reflected in their high SDO scores. In order to further investigate this possibility, research needs to look at whether Black South Africans believe that in future, significant social change will take place, establishing their own group as dominant. The data of this research makes this assumption seem rather unlikely. If it was the case that Black South Africans saw themselves as eventually becoming the dominant group, this should have been reflected in the future and ideal socioeconomic status scores. Yet, the results regarding this dimension suggest that Black South Africans want inequality between race groups, with their own group as the subordinate group. It is therefore equally conceivable that Black South Africans desire inequality between race groups, in the form it currently exists. This could again be an indication that Black South Africans might have internalised their subordinate status.

It is also conceivable that egalitarianism has a different connotation in South Africa's Black (Xhosa) population than for South African Coloureds and Whites - or even societies elsewhere in the world. Sidanius et al. (2000) have drawn attention to this possibility. It could then be the case that the higher SDO scores of the Black participants do not in fact mean that those participants want more inequality between race groups. This idea is supported by the statement of one of the back-translators who affirmed the equivalence between the Xhosa SDO₆ scale and its English form, but emphasised that the Xhosa items sounded less "rude" than the English items.

As yet, no clear conclusion can be drawn regarding the reasons for the unusual SDO levels found in this research among the different race groups. However, it can be taken as an indication that SDT's assumptions might not be as universally applicable as it suggests.

A second hypothesis investigated the influence of socialisation on SDO. It was not supported by the data. If socialisation plays a role in determining SDO levels, as assumed by SDT, SDO levels should be higher in the older age groups. These participants were raised in an era during which the existence of race-based hierarchy was strongly supported, whereas the younger participants grew up in a society that puts a strong emphasis on equality (Louw & Foster, 2004). However, as in Study 1, the finding was that younger participants were more supportive of group-based hierarchy than older participants. The same reasons as raised in Study 1 apply. Firstly, it is possible that the older participants were more conscious of the impression they were creating than younger participants. This might have affected their answers to the SDO items. In order to conform to the equality norms in South Africa's society they might have answered in a more *liberal* way instead of indicating their actual view. Secondly, the adolescent data in this sample was mostly drawn from relatively racially segregated schools, whereas it can be assumed that most adults work in rather racially mixed environments. Since positive contact experiences increase the positive perception of the outgroup, it is possible that older participants express a lesser desire for hierarchy due to the constant contact they experience with members of other race groups (Mynhardt & du Toit, 1991).

To summarise, the hypotheses derived from SDT reveal that in its current form SDO cannot be readily applied to the South African context, with its particular history of race-based discrimination and recent major changes in the racial stratification system. It is an initial indication that the measure of SDO might need to be adapted in order to be able to account for societies in transition.

5.5.1.3 Comparison of SDT and SIT

In order to investigate whether SDO or SIT's socio-structural variables can better account for racial attitudes in South Africa, their joint influence on ingroup bias was investigated.

Firstly, it was found that White participants, who had been established as the dominant/high status group, also showed the highest level of ingroup bias. This corresponds to the results regarding the ideal socioeconomic status, where White participants saw their own group as more deserving of positive social value than the other two race groups.

In fact, on the attitude measure, participants of all race groups displayed ingroup favouritism to some extent. That is, unlike their ideal socioeconomic status situation, Black participants did not prefer another race group to their own.

The discrepancy between the results regarding attitudes and socioeconomic status might be due to the particular dimensions assessed. Whereas attitudes refer to personal characteristics, the socioeconomic dimension assessed status or power. In their research, van Knippenberg and van Oers (1984) identified that subordinate groups are particularly likely to evaluate the outgroup favourably on dimensions that have to do with socioeconomic success, such as status and income. However, their explanation for this phenomenon does not hold in this context. They suggest that subordinate groups might exaggerate differences between their own and outgroups as a strategy to obtain greater equity between groups. However, in this case, Black participants also indicated inequality between groups under *ideal* socioeconomic circumstances and not only when drawing a picture of the current situation. Tajfel (1974) on the other hand explains this discrepancy with the phenomenon of *compensatory bias*. It means that low status groups compensate for unfavourable comparisons on one dimension by favouring the ingroup on other dimensions. Socioeconomic indicators might have been a relevant dimension of comparison for participants, because very real differences between race groups exist on this dimension. Attribute ratings however, do not relate to real differences between race groups and could thus be seen as less relevant. Nonetheless, participants that perceived their own group as having lower status still discriminated less than individuals who perceived themselves as members of a high status group on this less relevant dimension.

In order to test whether SDT or SIT are better able to account for intergroup discrimination, the effects of ingroup identification, perceived status, legitimacy and stability and of SDO on ingroup bias were investigated based on a hypothesis formulated from the SIT perspective. That is, it was assumed that identification, status, stability and legitimacy would have an influence on ingroup bias, but not SDO.

The results were not supportive of SIT's prediction. Participants with varying degrees of ingroup identification, or different perceptions of their ingroup's status or legitimacy/stability of the status structure, did not differ in how much ingroup bias they expressed. Only different levels of SDO and the interactions between SDO and status and SDO, status and legitimacy were related to differences in ingroup bias.

As predicted by SDT, participants with high SDO showed more ingroup bias than those with a low SDO (e.g. Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The interaction between status and SDO specifies this

relationship further. It shows that only high but not low status participants show stronger ingroup bias when their SDO level is high than when it is low. This is again in line with SDT, as usually a stronger relationship between SDO and ingroup favouritism is found in high than in low status groups (Sidanius, Pratto, & Rabinowitz, 1994). This result also corresponds to the finding that Black participants had the highest SDO scores but not the highest ingroup bias. Compared to the other race groups, Black participants are overrepresented in the low status and high SDO group. Those participants show lower levels of ingroup bias than participants that perceived themselves as having high status. It shows that the inclusion of perceived status has added to the understanding of results that initially seemed contradictory.

The relationship between SDO, status and legitimacy corresponds very closely to the relationship predicted by SDT. For high status group members the relationship between SDO and ingroup bias is always positive irrespective of whether the intergroup situation is legitimate or illegitimate. For low status members this relationship is negative when the intergroup situation is seen as legitimate. This means that low status group members who think that the group stratification system is justified and who desire stratification between groups do not evaluate their own group particularly favourably. However, there is no relationship between SDO level and ingroup bias for low status groups if the intergroup situation is seen as illegitimate.

Interestingly, the results appear slightly differently if SDO level is replaced by the level of *Opposition to Equality* (OEQ) or *Group Based Dominance* (GBD). Participants who do not desire group hierarchy in general (i.e. have a low OEQ score) show as much ingroup favouritism as participants who do desire a stratified society. From an SDT perspective this result makes perfect sense. If people desire hierarchy within a society regardless of whether their own group is the dominant group or not, it should not matter how positively they see their own as compared to other groups. Looking at the desire for a society in which the own group dominates (i.e. GBD), a different, equally plausible result emerges. Those that wish their own group to be superior show a higher degree of favouritism for their own group than those who do not want their own group to dominate. This gives further support to Jost and Thompson's (2000) assumption that the SDO scale is indeed constituted of two different constructs; one which expresses the general desire for group-based hierarchy and another that conveys the desire for group-based dominance. When considering OEQ or GBD instead of SDO for the explanation of ingroup bias, some of SIT's socio-structural variables explain differences in ingroup bias, which they did not when SDO was considered.

In summary, the results comparing the utility of SDT and SIT in South Africa show that SDT's concept of SDO does help to explain differences in race-based discrimination. Interestingly, SIT's socio-structural variables by themselves had very little influence on the explanation of race-based discrimination in South Africa. This study thus gives provides an initial indication that SDO might have at least as much (if not more) to do with race-based discrimination in South Africa as situational factors.

5.5.2 Method

A few methodological issues need to be brought to attention. Firstly, the current study has the advantage of having employed a large and varied sample. Instead of only drawing on university students, as is the norm, participants with a wide variety of demographic characteristics were gathered from all over the Cape Metropolitan region. This makes the results more valid, in that they apply to a greater part of South Africa's population. Of course, the Cape Metropolitan area is still a very specific, urban region so that caution needs to be exercised when generalising the results to South Africans in general (see also section 3.5.2).

Secondly, in this research, no distinction was made between English and Afrikaans speaking White South Africans, although research has shown that Black South Africans' attitudes towards these two groups have been rather different (e.g. Foster & Nel, 1991). In addition, English speaking Whites also generally have a higher socioeconomic status (Duckitt & Mphuting, 1998b) and are more ambivalent towards their ethnic identity (Appelgryn & Bornman, 1996; Bornman & Mynhardt, 1991; Sennet & Foster, 1996). However, in this research, the intention was to compare attitudes of, and the attitudes towards, Black, Coloured and White South Africans. To further subdivide the group of White South Africans into English and Afrikaans speaking would have prolonged the questionnaire to such an extent that it would have been difficult to motivate individuals to participate. Besides, Foster (1991) claims that the separation of English and Afrikaans speaking Whites potentially distorts the results. He argues that although most English speaking Whites were more liberal than Afrikaans speaking Whites during Apartheid, they nonetheless contributed to the race-based system of domination.

Finally, Smith and Stones (1999) raise an vital point when they argue that in research of this kind it would be worthwhile to employ qualitative as well as quantitative methods. This might help to answer some of the reoccurring questions. It could for instance clarify the uncertainty as to whether participants were indicating their true views or whether they were simply attempting to answer in a politically correct manner. Furthermore, qualitative methods might also eradicate the

dissatisfaction that some participants experienced with and commented on in the questionnaire. A number of participants had difficulty generalising their answers to whole race groups. Generalisations can never be avoided in research on intergroup relations. However, different methods and approaches could allow participants to explain or comment on their responses.

5.5.3 Conclusion

To date, no research had looked at the applicability of SDT in transitional societies. Therefore, this study needs to be understood as an initial step into a new field, resulting in a number of additional questions. These provide vast opportunities for further research. Hopefully, it will inspire future researchers to look deeper into issues such as why the low status group of Black South Africans and younger South Africans have a particularly high desire for hierarchy. Such research is not only interesting in order to further psychological theorising in the field of intergroup relations, but is also of the utmost practical importance. For instance, if SDO in South Africa has the same meaning as in other societies - an issue that in itself needs further investigation - it needs to be established what the implications of the relatively high desire for group-based hierarchy among young South Africans are. Some of the questions that need to be addressed are: Does the high desire for group-based hierarchy among the younger participants mean that South Africa's striving for equality between groups is doomed to failure, since South Africa's future generation opposes it? Why is it that young South Africans do not at least desire as much group equality as older South Africans? And finally, what steps can be taken in order to convince young South Africans of the benefits of group equality? Longitudinal research could offer an interesting insight in that it would be able to establish how SDO, race relationships and perceptions of status, legitimacy and stability change over time along with political and social changes taking place in society.

The present study provided some indications of the utility of SIT and SDT in the South African context - and for transitional societies in general. The main finding is that the influence of third variables on SDO, such as group status, is not the same as in other societies. This raises the question of the meaning of SDO in the South African context. Future research has to address this question. If it is found that for all groups concerned, SDO does have the same meaning as in other societies, researchers need to determine (a) why it is that Black South Africans seem to have higher SDO levels despite being the low status group and (b) why younger South Africans are more in favour of group inequality. This could help to adapt SDT so that it is flexible enough to explain changing intergroup relations.

6 Discrimination: Because I have to or because I want to?

- General Conclusion -

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the extent to which SDT's concept of SDO and perceptions of the socio-structural variables identified by SIT are able to explain individual differences in intergroup discrimination. To this end, the commonly used measure of SDO, the SDO₆ scale, was employed. Since no previous research had drawn on adequately large and diverse samples to determine whether this scale is valid and reliable in South Africa, an initial study was conducted, confirming its appropriateness. The subsequent two studies utilised the scale as a measure of SDO in order to investigate the research question. An experiment was conducted in Study 2 and survey data was analysed in Study 3. Table 6-1 provides a summary of the main results.

Table 6-1: Summary of main results

SDT: expected and unexpected results	
expected	unexpected
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High internal consistency of the SDO₆ scale (Studies 1 to 3) • High temporal and situational stability of the SDO₆ scale (Study 2) • All SDO₆ items load significantly on one factor (Studies 1 to 3) • Generally good discriminant and convergent validity of the SDO₆ scale (Study 1) • White and Coloured males have higher SDO scores than White and Coloured females (Study 1); males of all races combined have higher SDO scores than females (Study 3) • SDO influences race-based discrimination (Study 3) • The dominant race group has higher SDO scores than the subordinate groups (Study 2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploratory factor analyses yield more than one factor for the SDO₆ scale (Studies 1 to 3) • Confirmatory factor analyses show a two factor solution is more appropriate (Studies 1 and 3) • The two SDO factors have differential effects (Studies 1 and 3) • Negative correlation between SDO and self-esteem (Study 1) • Black females have higher SDO scores than Black males (Study 1) • Younger people have higher SDO scores (Studies 1 and 3) • SDO does not influence language-based discrimination (Study 2) • The societal stratification system is not reflected in SDO levels (Study 3)
SIT: expected and unexpected results	
expected	unexpected
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Status influences language-based discrimination (Study 2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ingroup identification, status, legitimacy and stability do not influence the extent of race-based discrimination unless combined with SDO (Study 3)

The findings indicate that Rubin and Hewstone (in press) might have been right when they assumed that both SIT and SDT are valuable for the explanation of intergroup discrimination. For both theories, some results were confirmatory and others unexpected. It is thus impossible to conclude that one theory is generally 'better' than the other.

The following sections summarise the contribution that the research conducted for this thesis has made to (a) the research question, to (b) clarify the meaning of SDO, and to (c) identify the utility of SDT in a society in transformation, such as South Africa. The chapter ends with a final conclusion.

6.1 The Value of SIT and SDT for the Explanation of Discrimination

The second and third study of this research investigated the relative value of SIT versus SDT for the explanation of intergroup discrimination measured as ingroup bias. Their results differed strongly. Contrary to SDT's expectations, in the experiment (Study 2), SDO did not explain ingroup bias in that participants with low and high SDO levels did not differ in the extent to which they preferred their own language group over another. In the survey study (Study 3), on the other hand, participants with higher SDO levels were more in favour of their own race group than participants with lower levels of SDO.

The studies also yielded different results with regards to those variables that SIT specifies as determinants of intergroup discrimination. In Study 2, those with higher status showed more ingroup favouritism than those with low status, just as SIT would expect. In Study 3, however, status only had an effect on discrimination in interaction with SDO and in combination with legitimacy and SDO, but not by itself. This means that contrary to SIT's assumption, in one of the studies a personal characteristic, that is SDO, contributed to the explanation as to why people showed ingroup bias.

This suggests that as Rubin and Hewstone (in press) propose, there might be particular conditions under which SDT or SIT is more appropriate. The reasons behind the inconsistent findings of Study 2 and Study 3 might help to identify these specific conditions. Firstly, whereas Study 2 was an experiment, in Study 3 survey data was analysed. This means that Study 3 provided a much less controlled environment. Uncontrolled variables might therefore have contributed to the different outcomes of Studies 2 and 3. Secondly, some of the variables were operationalised differently. In the experiment, group status, legitimacy and stability were induced by the instructions. In the survey study, on the other hand, the three variables were indirectly

inferred from participants' evaluations of the current, future and ideal socioeconomic standing of different race groups. Furthermore, the studies employed different measures of ingroup bias. Another relevant difference was caused by the samples that the studies employed. The sample in the survey study was much larger and diverse whereas all participants in the experiment were university students. Finally, ingroup identification was included as a variable in Study 3, but not in the experiment (Study 2).

It is likely that all of these factors have exerted some influence on the results. For instance, as argued in the discussion section of Study 3 (Chapter 5.5), the particular samples might explain why in Study 2 White students had higher SDO scores than students of other races, whereas for the more representative sample in Study 3 Black participants had the highest SDO scores.

However, research by Schmitt et al. (2003) suggests that the most influential difference between the two studies is their different grounds for discrimination. Whereas in Study 2 language-based discrimination was the focus, Study 3 looked at discrimination among race groups. SDO was thus found to be related to race-based, but not to language-based discrimination. In fact, with regards to race-based discrimination, SDO was more important than any of the socio-structural variables identified by SIT. SDO was the only variable that by itself influenced the amount of discrimination participants displayed. Based on their research findings, Schmitt et al. (2003) argue that SDO is only related to discrimination among those groups that people think about while completing the SDO scale. When discussing the results of Study 2 in Chapter 4.5, it was argued that in South Africa race might be the most salient group category. This implies that when asked about groups in general, as in the SDO₆ scale, most South Africans should automatically start thinking about race groups. For some individuals, this could even be the case when primed towards a different, in South Africa's society probably less important group category, such as language. If the SDO scale does not measure a person's desire for inequality between groups in general, but the desire for inequality between specific groups, in this case between race groups, it is not surprising that SDO was only related to race-based, but not to language-based discrimination.

Based on these considerations, the question about the conditions under which SIT or SDT are more appropriate can be answered as follows: When looking at a group stratification system that is highly salient and which has importance to its members (as shown in a high ingroup identification), SDO, that is the desire for hierarchy between groups, helps to explain differences in the amount of discrimination displayed. In intergroup systems that have less social relevance, this is not the case. Instead, in such cases, the group's status and possibly other variables

characterising the intergroup context are more important than a person's general attitudinal orientation towards group inequality. That is, in those situations, SIT might be more appropriate to explain individual differences in the extent of intergroup discrimination shown.

This assumption triggers questions about the meaning of SDO. SDT expects SDO to be a general orientation towards group-based hierarchy, meaning that it is independent of the kind of group stratification system considered. A person that favours inequality between race groups should thus also favour inequality between language groups (e.g. Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This was clearly not the case in this research. SDO was only related to attitudes towards specific groups and not towards groups in general. The following discussion takes a closer look at to what extent the studies included in this thesis can help to clarify the meaning of SDO.

6.2 The Nature of SDO

As outlined in sections 2.2.4.1 and 2.2.4.2 of the literature review, the concept of SDO has been subjected to vast criticism due to its inconsistent definitions and rather fuzzy meaning. The results of the three studies conducted for this thesis contribute to clarifying the meaning of the construct.

In SDT's latest definition, SDO is seen as general attitudinal orientation, which expresses the degree of favouritism for any kind of group-based hierarchy (e.g. Pratto et al., 1994). This view corresponds to Duckitt (2001), who also regards SDO as an ideological attitude, which he assumes to be evoked by a tough-minded personality. Study 1 has shown that SDO was indeed related to this personality trait. This result thus supports SDT's assumption that SDO is an attitude and not a specific personality trait, as it has for instance been described by Rabinowitz (1999). However, the research of this thesis also indicates that SDO does not seem to be an attitude that is as general as assumed by SDT. As outlined above and in compliance with Schmitt et al.'s (2003) results, the findings of Study 2 and Study 3 indicate that SDO is only related to specific types of intergroup discrimination. If it expressed an individual's general desire for societies to be structured as group-based hierarchies, this should not be the case.

A different view on SDO is taken by Jost and Thompson (2000). They argue that SDO as measured by the SDO scale cannot be understood as a uniform construct, but rather consists of two dimensions, which have very different effects. All three studies in this thesis showed that this is also the case in South African samples. A two factor solution comprised of Jost and Thompson's (2000) two subscales, *Opposition to Equality* (OEQ) and *Group Based Dominance*

(GBD) always provided a better fit to the data than a single factor. Furthermore, in Study 1 and Study 3 these scales had different effects, e.g. with regards to their influence on RWA or in their influence on race-based discrimination. The results thus provide clear evidence that SDO should not only be regarded as a global construct, but that it is important to distinguish a general orientation towards inequality (OEQ) from the desire for own group dominance (GBD). As shown in this research, a combination of these two subscales into a global SDO score can lead to misleading interpretations. This was for instance the case with regards to authoritarianism. Study 1 had shown that RWA and SDO were not related. A closer look at this relationship revealed that this was caused by opposite relationships between SDO's two subscales and RWA. Whereas the opposition to equality (OEQ) subscale was negatively related to RWA, the opposite was the case for group based dominance (GBD).

In conclusion, the research described in this thesis indicates that SDO can be understood as a rather stable attitude (Study 1), comprised of two subscales indicating the desire for own group dominance and the desire for inequality between groups in general (Studies 1-3). SDO does not relate to all types of intergroup discrimination, but to some (Study 2 and Study 3). Irrespective of whether it is a general attitudinal variable, in some situations, SDO can thus explain why people discriminate. It is therefore important to investigate why some people develop high levels of SDO. SDT assumes that amongst others, the status of the group to which a person belongs plays a role. High status group members are expected to have higher levels of SDO than low status group members. This implies for instance that the more powerful gender group, that is males, should have a higher SDO than females. For the same reason, SDT expects older people to have higher levels of SDO. The studies in this research did not find clear support for these assumptions. Although in almost all cases, males had a higher SDO than females, this was not the case for Black males in Study 1. Furthermore, there was no difference in SDO levels between members of high and low status groups in Study 2, whereas in Study 3 the low status group favoured inequality the most. In addition, younger individuals had higher levels of SDO than older people (Studies 1 and 3). This is highly surprising given that the younger participants had been socialised in a society, which emphasises equality, whereas older people had spent most of their life in a system characterised by the promotion of strong inequalities between racial groups. The research in this thesis thus indicates that the origins of SDO might not be as universal as assumed by SDT, at least with regards to group status. Rather, particularities of each society have to be taken into account. For instance, as argued in the discussion sections of Studies 1 and 3 (Chapters 3.5 and 5.5), the fact that in South Africa there is a strong social norm for group equality might contribute to the age effect in SDO scores. Older participants might be more

careful to fulfil this social norm than younger participants. The results of this research thus support the notion that SDO has a strong socialised basis. An indication for the influence of socialisation or cultural factors is also given by the divergent findings for the Black (Xhosa) participants in Study 3. It is possible that the finding that the subordinate group had higher SDO scores in Study 3 might show that SDT, which has mainly been developed in the United States, cannot be easily applied to a society as culturally different to the North American society as South Africa. An initial indication that the theory might apply better to the United States than to culturally different societies was also found in research conducted in Taiwan (Lee et al., 2003). The exact reasons as to why Black South Africans respond differently to the SDO scale than members of other population groups remain to be investigated.

6.3 Conclusion: Do I have to or do I want to?

This thesis set out by asking “Do I discriminate because ‘I have to’ or because ‘I want to’?”, with SDT representing the ‘have to’ and SIT the ‘want to’ perspective. At this stage, based on the results of the research described in this thesis, it is impossible to provide a definite answer to this question. Obviously, a thorough comparison and test of two complete theories is an undertaking that exceeds the scope of any thesis. However, the work described in the previous three chapters is an initial investigation into the field that will hopefully encourage further research. It specifically focused on a few central aspects of both theories, namely the role of socio-structural variables in SIT and the concept of SDO in SDT.

Even though no definite answer can be given, the findings give an initial indication that discrimination is more a matter of ‘I want to’ than of ‘I have to’. The results of Study 2 suggest that discrimination is not driven by an individual’s desire for inequality, as SDO was not related to discrimination in this study. In Study 3, it was. If SDO is sometimes related to discrimination and at other times not, it means that individuals do not ‘have to’ discriminate due to an internal drive. However, this does not mean that discrimination is a matter of ‘I want to’ in the sense of people taking a conscious decision to discriminate or not. Just as in the real world, in both studies, ingroup favouritism was a pervasive phenomenon. It was however mediated by the social context. Studies 2 and 3 have shown that the amount of ingroup bias can vary considerably depending on a person’s group status, the perceived legitimacy of the stratification system and the SDO level. That is, even if SDT is right in assuming that there is an internal drive for group inequality, which leads people to intergroup discrimination, this drive is not always transformed into behaviour. The intergroup context that is salient determines whether SDO has

an influence or not. These findings suggest that changes in the intergroup situation can influence individuals to show no or only little ingroup favouritism. Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman and Anastasio (1996) for instance suggest that it might be advantageous to keep racial identities, while at the same time creating a common ingroup identity (such as the human race or being South African). If this can be achieved in such a way that the superordinate identity does not threaten the sub-identities, then what follows is that people might conceive “of themselves, for example, as though they were members of different groups but all playing on the same *team*” (p. 233). That is, differences between groups would still be acknowledged. However, White South Africans for instance would not have to desire their own group’s dominance and would not have to discriminate against members of other race groups, as they would not feel a threat to their group’s status. Eventually, such a superordinate group identity might also lead more people to perceive the sub-group stratification system as illegitimate. As Study 2 has shown, participants with perceived low status and low SDO as well as participants with a high perceived status and high SDO were less discriminative when they perceived the stratification system as illegitimate than those who saw it as legitimate.

In conclusion, this thesis has shown that, as previous research had indicated, a combination of SIT’s and SDT’s elements is valuable in order to gain a clearer understanding about why individuals discriminate against members of different groups. By including the variables SDO, group status and the stability and legitimacy of the intergroup situation, the second and third studies extended such prior work and applied it in South Africa. That is, in a society that provides a particularly interesting backdrop for research due to its diverse cultural groups and specific racial intergroup situation. The findings of Study 1 have revealed that the concept of SDO can be applied in South Africa. However, it has also become clear that further research is necessary to substantiate the findings. Such research should start by investigating the meaning of SDO in South Africa’s different cultures. The research described in the previous chapters has shown that the influence of culture on SDO and thus as a reason of intergroup discrimination in general needs to be further elaborated upon.

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Appendix A

- Materials -

Appendix A-1: Letter of permission from the Western Cape Education Department to conduct research in High Schools

Name: Dr Frances J. Wessels
 Enquiries: 021 448 2228
 Telephone: 021 448 2228
 Telephone (fax): 021 448 2228
 Fax: 021 448 2228
 Email: f.wessels@ecw.gov.za
 Verifying Reference: 2002 0705-0013



Wes-Kaap Onderwysdepartement

Western Cape Education Department

Isibc leMfundo leNtshona Koloni

Ms I. Moyer
 University of Cape Town
 Humanities Graduate School Building
 RONDEBOSCH
 7700

Dear Madam

Re: Research in schools.

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Interviews and completion of questionnaires are allowed as long as these do not impinge on educators' programmes.
5. The investigation is to be conducted from 10 September 2002 to 30 September 2002.
6. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey at the schools, please contact F Wessels at the contact numbers above.
7. The investigation is not to be conducted during the fourth school term.
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal of each school where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to the approved list of schools attached.
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:
 The Director: Research
 Western Cape Education Department
 Private Bag 9114
 CAPE TOWN
 8000

We wish you success in your research.
 Kind regards,

L. Wessels
 HEAD: EDUCATION
 DATE: 2002/07/08

WES-KAAP OONDERWYSDEPARTEMENT / WESTER CAPE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
 ISIBCE LE MFUNDO LE NTSHONA KOLONI

Appendix A-2: English questionnaire form, Study 1

Dear participant

This survey forms part of my doctoral thesis at the University of Cape Town. Thank you for giving some of your time for my research. It will take approximately 20 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

I am interested in people's opinion about various social issues. I would like to know what you personally think. There are no right or wrong answers.

Try not to think too long about each statement. Usually your first response is the one you come back to in the end.

Please respond to every item even if you find it difficult to form an opinion.

The survey is anonymous. No one will be able to discover your identity.

If you have queries feel free to contact me via the Psychology department of the University of Cape Town.

Kind regards

Ines Meyer

Please give the following information by ticking the appropriate box or writing in the space provided:

1. Year of birth: _____

2. Gender: female ☐ 1 male ☐ 2

3. What was the racial classification of your parents under the laws of Apartheid?

Black ☐ 1 Coloured ☐ 2 Indian ☐ 3 White ☐ 4

other ☐ 5 specify: _____

4. Religion: Christian ☐ 1 Hindu ☐ 2 Jewish ☐ 3 Muslim ☐ 4 Atheist ☐ 5

other ☐ 6 specify: _____

5. Nationality: South African ☐ 1 other ☐ 2 specify: _____

if other: How long in South Africa? _____ years

6. Highest school level: _____ grade

7. Still at school? yes ☐ 1 no ☐ 2

if no: Do you have tertiary
education?

yes ☐ 1 no ☐ 2

Current subject of study or profession: _____

Below you find a series of statements with which you may either agree or disagree. Please indicate the degree of your agreement by circling the appropriate number from '1' to '7'.

Circle number

- | | | | |
|---|--------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | if you | <i>strongly disagree</i> | with the statement |
| 2 | if you | <i>moderately disagree</i> | with the statement |
| 3 | if you | <i>slightly disagree</i> | with the statement |
| 4 | if you | <i>do not have an opinion</i> | about the statement |
| 5 | if you | <i>slightly agree</i> | with the statement |
| 6 | if you | <i>moderately agree</i> | with the statement |
| 7 | if you | <i>strongly agree</i> | with the statement |

Remember that your first response is usually the most accurate.

- | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 7. Inferior groups should stay in their place. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 9. It would be good if groups could be equal. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 10. Group equality should be our ideal. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 12. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 13. Increased social equality. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 16. No one group should dominate in society. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

In the following you are provided with another series of statements. Please mark your opinion using the following scale:

Circle number

- | | | | |
|---|--------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | if you | <i>very strongly disagree</i> | with the statement |
| 2 | if you | <i>strongly disagree</i> | with the statement |
| 3 | if you | <i>moderately disagree</i> | with the statement |
| 4 | if you | <i>slightly disagree</i> | with the statement |
| 5 | if you | <i>slightly agree</i> | with the statement |
| 6 | if you | <i>moderately agree</i> | with the statement |
| 7 | if you | <i>strongly agree</i> | with the statement |
| 8 | if you | <i>very strongly agree</i> | with the statement |

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion, than to listen to the noisy rabble rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's mind. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 2. There is nothing immoral or sick in somebody being a homosexual. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 3. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 4. "Free speech" means that people should even be allowed to make speeches and write books urging the overthrow of the government. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 5. In these troubled times laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring up things. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 6. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 7. It is best to treat dissenters with leniency and an open mind, since new ideas are the lifeblood of progressive change. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 8. The biggest threat to our freedom comes from the communists and their kind, who are out to destroy religion, ridicule patriotism, corrupt the youth, and in general undermine our whole way of life. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 9. The way things are going in this country, it is going to take a lot of "strong medicine" to straiten out troublemakers, criminals and perverts. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 10. It is important to protect fully the rights of radicals and deviants. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 11. Rules about being "well-mannered" and respectable are chains from the past which we should question very thoroughly before accepting. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 12. Once the government leaders and the authorities condemn the dangerous elements in our society, it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stamp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 13. The self-righteous "forces of law and order" threaten freedom in our country a lot more than most of the groups they claim are "radical" and "godless". | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 14. Students in high school and at university must be encouraged to challenge their parents' ways, confront established authorities and in general criticise the customs and traditions of our society. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |

Rate the extent to which you feel each of the following descriptive adjectives is characteristic or uncharacteristic of YOUR PERSONALITY AND BEHAVIOUR.

	<i>most uncharacteristic/ very strongly disagree</i>								<i>most characteristic/ very strongly agree</i>	
1. kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
2. compassionate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
3. ruthless	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
4. cynical	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
5. tough-minded	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
6. tender-minded	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
7. forgiving	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
8. hard	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
9. caring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
10. giving	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
11. merciless	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
12. gentle	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
13. hard-hearted	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
14. unfeeling	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
15. soft-hearted	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
16. brutal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
17. humane	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
18. sympathetic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
19. uncaring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
20. harsh	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
21. rebellious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
22. unorthodox	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
23. conforming	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
24. conventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
25. old-fashioned	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
26. free-living	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
27. non-conforming	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
28. moralistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
29. obedient	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
30. unconventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
31. unpredictable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
32. erratic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
33. respectful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
34. predictable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

The section below contains statements which may or may not describe yourself. Please indicate the degree of your agreement with each statement by using the following scale.

Circle number

<i>1</i>	if you <i>strongly disagree</i>	with the statement
<i>2</i>	if you <i>disagree</i>	with the statement
<i>3</i>	if you <i>agree</i>	with the statement
<i>4</i>	if you <i>strongly agree</i>	with the statement

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. At times I think I am no good at all. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. I am able to do things as well as most other people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. I certainly feel useless at times. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 8. I wish I could have more respect for myself. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 10. I take a positive attitude toward myself. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Appendix A-3: Afrikaans questionnaire form, Study 1

Geagte Deelnemer

Hierdie studie vorm deel van my doktorsale tesis aan die Universiteit van Kaapstad. Dankie dat u van u tyd aanbied vir my navorsing. Die vraelys sal ongeveer 20 minute neem om te voltooi.

Ek is geïnteresseerd in mense se standpunte rakende verskeie sosiale kwessies. Ek sou graag wou weet wat u, persoonlik, dink. Daar is geen regte of verkeerde antwoorde nie.

Probeer om nie te lank te dink oor elke stelling nie. Gewoonlik is jou eerste antwoord die een waarna jy terugkeer.

Reageer asseblief op elke vraag, selfs al vind u dit moeilik om 'n standpunt uit te spreek.

Hierdie vraelys is naamloos. Niemand sal u kan identifiseer nie.

Indien u enige vrae het, kontak my gerus deur die Sielkunde departement van die Universiteit van Kaapstad.

Vriendelike groete

Ines Meyer

Gee asseblief die volgende inligting deur 'n kruisie in die gepaste blokkie maak of deur in die gegewe spasie te skryf.

1. Jaar van geboorte: _____

2. Geslag: vroulik ☐ 1 manlik ☐ 2

3. As watter ras is u ouers geklassifiseer onder die wette van Apartheid?

Swart ☐ 1 Kleurling ☐ 2 Indier ☐ 3 Blank ☐ 4

ander ☐ 5 spesifiseer: _____

4. Geloof: Christen ☐ 1 Hindu ☐ 2 Joods ☐ 3 Muslim ☐ 4 Ateïs ☐ 5

ander ☐ 6 spesifiseer: _____

5. Nationaliteit: Suid-Afrikaans ☐ 1 ander ☐ 2 spesifiseer: _____

indien ander: Hoe lank in Suid-Afrika? _____ jaar

6. Hoegste vlak van skool opleiding: graad _____

7. Steeds in skool? ja ☐ 1 nee ☐ 2

indien nee: Is u tersiër opgelei? ja ☐ 1 nee ☐ 2

As u 'n student is: studie vak: _____

As u werk: u professie: _____

Hieronder vind u 'n reeks stellings waarmee u moontlik kan saamstem of miskien nie mee saamstem nie. Dui asseblief die mate waarin u saamstem, of nie saamstem nie, deur die gepaste nommer te omsirkel vanaf nommers '1' tot '7'.

Omsirkel nommer

1	indien u	<i>sterk verskil</i>	met die stelling
2	indien u	<i>gedeeltelik verskil</i>	met die stelling
3	indien u	<i>effens verskil</i>	met die stelling
4	indien u	<i>nie regtig 'n standpunt het nie</i>	oor die stelling
5	indien u	<i>effens saamstem</i>	met die stelling
6	indien u	<i>gedeeltelik saamstem</i>	met die stelling
7	indien u	<i>sterk saamstem</i>	met die stelling

Onthou: U eerste antwoorde is gewoonlik die akkuraatste.

17. Sommige groepe mense is eenvoudig minderwaardig tot ander groepe.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Dit is soms nodig om mag af te dwing teenoor ander groepe om te kry wat mens wil hê.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Dis aanvaarbaar as sommige groepe 'n beter kans in die lewe het as ander.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Om vooruit te kom in die lewe, is dit soms nodig om op ander groepe te trap.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. As sekere groepe op hulle plek gebly het, sou ons minder probleme gehad het.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Dit is seker 'n goeie ding dat sekere groepe bo anders geplaas word.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. Minderwaardige groepe moet in hulle plek bly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Soms moet ander groepe op hul plek gehou word.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Dit sou goed wees as groepe gelyk kon wees.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. Groep gelykheid behoort ons ideaal te wees.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. Alle groepe behoort 'n gelyke kans in die lewe te kry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. Ons moet doen wat ons kan om gelyke omstandighede vir verskillende groepe te bewerkstellig.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. Verhoogde sosiale gelykheid.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. Ons sou minder probleme hê as ons mense meer gelyk behandel.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. Ons moet daarna streef om inkomstes so gelyk as moontlik te maak.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. Geen een groep behoort die gemeenskap te domineer nie.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Weerens word u voorsien van 'n reeks stellings. Teken asseblief u standpunt aan deur die volgende skaal.:

Omsirkel nommer

1	indien u	<i>baie sterk verskil</i>	met die stelling
2	indien u	<i>sterk verskil</i>	met die stelling
3	indien u	<i>gedeeltelik verskil</i>	met die stelling
4	indien u	<i>effens verskil</i>	met die stelling
5	indien u	<i>effens saamstem</i>	met die stelling
6	indien u	<i>gedeeltelik saamstem</i>	met die stelling
7	indien u	<i>sterk saamstem</i>	met die stelling
8	indien u	<i>sterk saamstem</i>	met die stelling

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Dit is altyd beter om die regte owerhede in die regering en geloof te vertrou, as om te luister na die raserige opstokers in die samelewing wat probeer om twyfel in mense se denke te saai. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 2. Daar is niks immoreel of siek daarin om homoseksueel te wees nie. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 3. Die feite oor misdaad, seksuele onsedelikheid, en die onlangse openbare oproer wys alles daarop dat ons hard moet neerkom op afwykende groepe en oproermakers as ons ons motiele standarde en wet en orde gaan behou. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 4. "Vryheid van spraak" beteken dat mense toegelaat moet word om selfs toesprake te maak en boeke te skryf wat die omverwerping van die regering aanhits. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 5. In hierdie onrustige tye moet die wette sonder genade afgedwing word, veral wanneer mens met opstokers an oproeriges te doen het wat dinge aanblaas. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 6. Jong mense kry soms rebelse idees maar behoort dit te ontgroeï en bedaar soos hulle ouer word. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 7. Dit is die beste om andersdenkendes toegeeflik en met 'n ope gemoed te benader, want nuwe idees is die lewensbloed van vooruitgang. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 8. Die grootste bedreiging tot ons vryheid kom van die kommuniste en hulle soort, wat uit is om godsdienste vernietig, die jeug te verleï, en in die algemeen ons lewenswyse te ondermyn. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 9. Soos dinge in hierdie land aangaan, gaan dit 'n klomp 'sterk medisyne' nodig he om opstokers, misdadigers en perverse reg te ruk. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 10. Dit is belangrik om die regte van radikales en afwykendes ten volle te beskerm. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 11. Reels oor 'goeie maniere' en fatsoenlikheid is kettings uit die verlede wat ons baie deeglik moet betwyfel voordat ons dit aanvaar. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 12. As die politieke leiers en owerhede die gevaarlike elemente in ons gemeenskap eers veroordeel het, dan sal dit die plig van elke patriotiese burger wees om die verderf wat ons land van binne vergiftig te help uitroei.. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 13. Die selfvoldane 'magte van reg en geregtigheid' bedreig die vryhied in ons land meer as meeste van die groepe wat hulle as 'radikaal en goddeloos' bestempel. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 14. Studente op hoerskool en universiteit moet aangemoedig word om hulle ouers se gebruike te betwis, om gevestigde owerhede te konfronteer, en in die algemeen die gebruike en tradisies van ons samelewing te kritiseer. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |

Meld die mate waarin u voel dat elkeen van die volgende eienskappe beskrywend of nie beskrywend is van u **PERSOONLIKHEID EN GEDRAG**.

	<i>mees beskrywend/ ten strengste nie saamstem nie</i>									<i>mees beskrywend/ stem sterk saam</i>
1. welwillend	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
2. erbarmend	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
3. meedoënloos	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
4. sinies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
5. onversetlik	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
6. teerhartig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
7. vergewend	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
8. hard	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
9. omgee	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
10. vrygewig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
11. genadeloos	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
12. saggeaard	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
13. hardvogtig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
14. gevoellos	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
15. saghartig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
16. brutaal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
17. menslik	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
18. simpatiek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
19. ongevoelig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
20. hardhandig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
21. rebels	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
22. onortodoks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
23. konformerend	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
24. konvensioneel	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
25. outdys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
26. vrylewend	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
27. nie-konformerend	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
28. moralisties	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
29. gehoorsaam	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
30. onkonvensioneel	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
31. onvoorspelbaar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
32. wisselvallig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
33. eerbredig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
34. voorspelbaar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

Die volgende afdeeling bevat stellings wat u dalk beskryf of dalk nie beskryf nie. Dui asseblief die mate waarin usaamstem deur die volgende skaal gebruik.

Omsirkel

<i>1</i>	indien u	<i>sterk verskil</i>	met die stelling
<i>2</i>	indien u	<i>verskil</i>	met die stelling
<i>3</i>	indien u	<i>saamstem</i>	met die stelling
<i>4</i>	indien u	<i>sterk saamstem</i>	met die stelling

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. In die heel is ek tevrede met myself. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Soms voel ek is niks werd nie. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Ek voel ek het 'n paar goeie kwaliteite. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. Ek kan dinge net so goed doen soos meeste ander mense. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. Ek voel ek het nie veel om op trots te wees nie. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. Ek voel beslis soms nutteloos. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. Ek voel ek is 'n persoon van gelyke waarde, ten minste op gelyke vlak met ander. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 8. Ek wens ek kon meer respek vir myself hê. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 9. Oor die algemeen voel ek soos 'n mislukking. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 10. Ek neem a positiewe houding teenoor myself in. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Appendix A-4: Xhosa questionnaire form, Study 1

Mthathi-nxaxheba othandekayo

Olu vavanyo luyinxalenye yezifundo zam zobugqirha kwiYunivesithi yaseKapa. Ndiyakubulela ngokunikezela ngexesha lakho kolu phando lwam. Kuya kukuthabatha malunga nemizuzu engama-20 ukuzalisa olu xwebhu lwemibuzo.

Ndinomdla kwimbono yomntu ngokubhekiselele kwimiba emininzi yoluntu. Ndithanda ukwazi ukuba wena ucinga ntoni. Akukho zimpendulo zilungileyo okanye ezingalunganga.

Zama ukuba ungathabathi thuba lide ucinga ngomba ngamnye onikiweyo. Kumaxesha amaninzi impendulo yakho yokuqala yeyona othi uphinde ubuyele kuyo ekugqibeleni.

Nceda unike impendulo kuyo yonke imiba ebekiweyo nokokuba kunzima kangakanani na ukunika imbono ngayo.

Olu vavanyo lufihlakele. Akuyi kubakho mntu waziyo ukuba nguwe lo ubephendula apha.

Ukuba unemibuzo onayo khululeka uqhagamshelane nam kwisebe lezifundo Zenzululwazi Ngengqondo (Psychology) leYunivesithi yaseKapa.

Enkosi

Ines Meyer

Nceda unike olu lwazi lulandelayo ngokuthi wenze olu phawu (✓) kwibhokisi elungileyo okanye ubhale kwisithuba esilungiselelwe oko:

1. Unyaka wakho wokuzalwa: _____

2. Isini: Ubhinqile ☐ 1 Uyindoda ☐ 2

3. Yayiluluphi udidi ngokwebala abazali bakho ababebekwe phantsi kwalo ngokwemithetho yoCalu-calulo?

Abamnyama ☐ 1 AbeBala ☐ 2 Ama-Indiya ☐ 3 AbaMhlophe ☐ 4

Olunye ☐ 5 cacisa: _____

4. Inkolo: UnguMkristu ☐ 1 unguMhindu ☐ 2 UnguMjuda ☐ 3 UnguMozilem ☐ 4

Ungumntu Ongakholwayo kuThixo ☐ 5 Enye ☐ 6 cacisa: _____

5. Ubuhlanga: UngowaseMzantsi Afrika ☐ 1 ulolunye ☐ 2 cacisa: _____

Ukuba ulolunye: Unexesha elingakanani ulapha eMzantsi Afrika? _____ iminyaka

6. Inqanaba eliphakamileyo lemfundo yesikolo: _____ igreyidi

7. Ingaba usesesikolweni? Ewe ☐ 1 hayi ☐ 2

ukuba ngu hayi: Unemfundo yamabanga aphezulu kulawo esikolo?

Ewe ☐ 1 hayi ☐ 2

Izifundo ozenzayo ngoku okanye ubuchule bemfundo: _____

Apha ngasezantsi uya kufumana uludwe lwemiba ekunokuthi mhlawumbi uvumelane nayo okanye ungavumelani nayo. Nceda bonisa ubungakanani bokuvumelana ngokuthi wenze isazinge kwinani elilungileyo ngokukokwakho ukusukela ku-'1' ukuya kwisi-'7'.

Inani elinesazinge

1	Ukuba ngaba	<i>akuvumelani kakhulu kwaphela</i>	nomba lowo
2	Ukuba ngaba	<i>akuvumelani kodwa kungabi kakhulu</i>	nomba lowo
3	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uvumelana ungavumelani</i>	nomba lowo
4	Ukuba ngaba	<i>akunambono</i>	ngomba lowo
5	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uyavumelana kancinane</i>	nomba lowo
6	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uyavumelana kodwa hayi kangako</i>	nomba lowo
7	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uyavumelana kakhulu</i>	nomba lowo

Khumbula ukuba impendulo yakho yokuqala iba yeyona ilungileyo kumaxesha amaninzi..

1. Amanye amaqela abantu akumgangatho ongaphantsi kunamanye.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Ukuzuzisa le nto uyifunayo, kuba yimfuneko ngamanye amaxesha ukuyifuna ngenkani kwamanye amaqela.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Ilungile into yokokuba amanye amaqela abantu abe namathuba apha ebomini ngaphezulu kwamanye amaqela.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Ukuze unyukele kumgangatho ophezulu apha ebomini kuye kube yimfuneko ngamanye amaxesha ukunyathela phezulu kwamanye amaqela abantu.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Ukuba ngaba amaqela abantu athile ebehlala ezindaweni ezizezawo, singaneengxaki ezimbalwa kakhulu.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Kusenokwenzeka mhlawumbi ukuba yinto entle into yokokuba amaqela abantu athile abe kumgangatho ophezulu aze amanye amaqela abantu abe kumgangatho ozezantsi.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Amaqela abantu akumgangatho ophantsi kufuneka ahlale endaweni yawo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Ngamanye amaxesha amanye amaqela abantu kufuneka agcinwe endaweni yawo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Kungakuhle kakhulu ukuba amaqela abantu angalingana.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Ukulinganiswa kwamaqela abantu yeyona nto ilungileyo ukuba sijonge kuyo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Onke amaqela abantu kufuneka anikwe amathuba alinganayo apha ebomini.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Kufuneka senze konke esinakho ukukwenza ukulinganisa iimeko zamaqela abantu awahlukeneyo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Kufuneka siphakamise umgangatho wokulingana koluntu.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Singaneengxaki ezimbalwa kakhulu ukuba singabaphatha abantu ngendlela efanayo nelinganayo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Kufuneka sizame ukwenza imivuzo ilingane kangangoko sinakho.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Akufuneki kubekho iqela labantu elithile elilawulayo apha eluntwini.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Koku kulandelayo unikwe olunye uludwe lwemiba. Nceda phawula uluvo lwakho ngokusebenzisa esi sikali silandelayo:

Yenza isazinge kwinani:

1	Ukuba ngaba	<i>akuvumelani kakhulu kwaphela</i>	nomba lowo
2	Ukuba ngaba	<i>akuvumelani kakhulu</i>	nomba lowo
3	Ukuba ngaba	<i>akuvumelani kodwa kungabi kakhulu</i>	nomba lowo
4	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uvumelana ungavumelani</i>	nomba lowo
5	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uyavumelana kancinane</i>	nomba lowo
6	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uyavumelana kodwa hayi kangako</i>	nomba lowo
7	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uyavumelana kakhulu</i>	nomba lowo
8	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uyavumelana ngokugqibeleleyo</i>	nomba lowo

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kusoloko kuyinto engcono ukuthemba intelekelelo yamagunya angawo aseburhulumenteni nawenkolo, kunokumamela abenzi bengxolo abaphakathi koluntu lwethu abazama ukudala intandabuzo ezingqondweni zabantu. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 2. Asiyonto ilinyala negwenxa okanye isisigulo xa abantu besini esinye bethandana. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 3. Imiba ngobukrelemnqa, ukungaziphathi kakuhle ngokwesondo, kunye noqulukubhode woluntu olusandula ukubakho, zonke ezi zinto zibonisa ukuba kufuneka sithabathe amanyathelo angqongqo kula maqela aphume ecaleni kunye nabaqali benkathazo ukuba ngaba sizimisele ukugcina imigangatho yokuziphatha iphezulu yaye sibe nakho ukugcina umthetho kunye nocwangco. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 4. "Ukuthetha ngokukhululekileyo" kuthetha ukuba abantu mabavunyelwe ukuba benze intetho baze babhale iincwadi eziphembelela ukuvukelwa kukarhulumente. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 5. Kula maxesha enkathazo, imithetho kufuneka inyanzeliswe ngokungena-lusini nangokungenanceba, ngakumbi xa kubhekiswa kubaphembeleli kunye nabavukeli abaduba-duba izinto. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 6. Ulutsha ngamanye amaxesha luba nezimvo zovukelo, kodwa njengoko lukhula lufanele ukuba luhlukane nazo luze luthothe apha abomini. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 7. Kulungile ukubaphatha abakreqi ngobulungisa nangengqondo ephangaleleyo, kuba iimbono ezintsha zizisa indlela entsha yokucinga kutshintsho oluqhubela phambili. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 8. Olona tshaba kwinkululeko yethu luvela kumakomanisi kunye nabanye abafana nabo, abo bazimisele ukutshabalalisa inkolo, baphoxise ngokuthanda ubuhlanga bethu, bonakalise ulutsha, baze ngokuphandle bayijonge phantsi indlela yethu yokuphila iphela. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 9. Indlela le ezenzeka ngayo izinto kweli lizwe, kuya kufuneka ukuba kufunyanwe "elona yeza linamandla" ukuthintela abaqali benkathazo, izigwinta kunye nabantu abaphume emgaqweni ngezimilo. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 10. Kubalulekile ukukhusela ngokupheleleyo amalungelo abaxhasa inguquko kunye nabanxaxhi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 11. Imithetho ngendlela "yokuziphatha kakuhle" kunye nokuhlonela ngamatyathanga exesha elidlulileyo ekufuneka ke ngoko siyiqwalasele kakuhle phambi kokuba siyamkele. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |

12. Ukuba nje iinkokheli zikarhulumente kunye nabaphathi angachonga loo malungu anobungozi phakathi koluntu, iya kuba ngumsebenzi walo naliphi na ilungu loluntu oluzingcayo ngobuhlanga balo ukukubulwa buphele ukubola okutyhefa ilizwe lethu. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
13. Abo bazingcayo “banyanzelisa umthetho kunye nocwangco” abayizinzisi kwaphela inkululeko kwilizwe lethu ngaphezulu koninzi lwaloo maqela bababona “bengabaxhasi bengquko” kunye nabo “bangenabuthixo”. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
14. Abafundi abakwizikolo zamabanga aphakamileyo kunye nabaseYunivesithi kufuneka bakhuthazwe bafune ubunganga beendlela zabazali babo, baqwalasele amagunya asekiweyo ze ngokubanzi bahlabe amadlala amasiko nezithethe zoluntu lwethu. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Thelekelela ukuba ingaba ezi zichazi zilandelayo ziyichaza kakuhle na indlela oziphatha ngayo okanye azibuchazi UBUME BAKHO KUNYE NOKUZIPHATHA KWAKHO.

<i>Azibuchazi ubume bam/ Andivumelani kakhulu kwaphela</i>	<i>Zibuchaza ubume bam/ Ndiyavumelana kakhulu kwaphela</i>								
1. imfesane	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2. uvelwano	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3. okhohlakeleyo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4. ogxekayo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
5. oneenkani	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
6. onobubele	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
7. oxolelayo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
8. olukhuni	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
9. okhathalayo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10. onikayo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
11. ongenanceba	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
12. onobunene	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
13. onentliziyo elukhuni	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
14. ongenaluvewano	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
15. onentliziyo ethambileyo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
16. ongenalusizi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
17. onobuntu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
18. onovelwano	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
19. ongakhathaliyo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
20. ongqongqo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
21. ovukelayo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
22. ongekhó sikweni	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
23. ovumelayo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
24. oqhelekileyo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

<i>Azibuchazi ubume bam/ Andivumelani kakhulu kwaphela</i>									
25. owakudala	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
26. olirheletya	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
27. ongavumeliyo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
28. oziphetho kakuhle	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
29. othobelayo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
30. ongaqhelekiyo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
31. akaqondakali	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
32. oquququkayo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
33. ohlonelayo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
34. uthembekile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Eli candelo lingezantsi linemiba engakuchazayo nengakuchaziyo tu. Nceda phawula umlinganiselo wokuvumelana kwakho nombamba ngamnye owunikiweyo ngokuthi usebenzise esi sikali silandelayo.

Yenza isazinge

<i>1</i>	Ukuba ngaba	<i>awuvumelani kakhulu</i>	nombamba lowo
<i>2</i>	Ukuba ngaba	<i>awuvumelani</i>	nombamba lowo
<i>3</i>	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uyavumelana</i>	nombamba lowo
<i>4</i>	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uvumelana kakhulu</i>	nombamba lowo

1. Ngokupheleleyo, ndanelisekile sisiqu sam.	1	2	3	4
2. Ngamanye amaxesha ndiye ndizibone ndingathi andilunganga kakuhle.	1	2	3	4
3. Ndiyacinga ukuba ndineempawu ezilungileyo apha kum.	1	2	3	4
4. Ndiyakwazi ukuzenza izinto njengoninzi lwabanye abantu.	1	2	3	4
5. Ndiyacinga ukuba andinanto ingako endingazingca ngayo.	1	2	3	4
6. Ngamanye amaxesha ndizibona ndingento yalutho.	1	2	3	4
7. Ndiye ndizibone ndingumntu onexabiso, xa ndithi ndizithelekise ngokulinganayo nabanye abantu.	1	2	3	4
8. Ndiye ndibawele ukuba ndibe bendizihlonipha kakhulu.	1	2	3	4
9. Ngokupheleleyo, ndiye ndizibone njengomntu ongento yalutho.	1	2	3	4
10. Ndizibona mna ndingumntu olungileyo nonguye.	1	2	3	4

Appendix A-5: Initial questionnaire Study 2

Initial
first nameDate of Birth and Initials (e.g. 12091980IA):

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Coping Style Study (CSS)Initial
surname

Please give the following demographic information:

2. Gender: female ☐ male ☐3. Population group: Black ☐ Coloured ☐ Indian ☐ White ☐
other ☐ specify: _____4. First language Afrikaans ☐ English ☐ Ndebele ☐ Northern Sotho ☐ Sesotho ☐ Setswana ☐
SiSwati ☐ Tshivenda ☐ Xhosa ☐ Xitsonga ☐ Zulu ☐ other: _____5. If first language not Afrikaans: How well do you speak Afrikaans? As well as English ☐
I can hold a conversation in Afrikaans ☐
I understand it but cannot really speak it ☐
I have very basic knowledge ☐
I do not speak Afrikaans at all ☐

6. Subject of study _____

7. Year of study _____

Below you find a series of statements with which you may either agree or disagree. Please indicate the degree of your agreement by circling the appropriate number from '1' to '7'.

Circle number	1	if you	<i>strongly disagree</i>	with the statement
	2	if you	<i>moderately disagree</i>	with the statement
	3	if you	<i>slightly disagree</i>	with the statement
	4	if you	<i>do not have an opinion</i>	about the statement
	5	if you	<i>slightly agree</i>	with the statement
	6	if you	<i>moderately agree</i>	with the statement
	7	if you	<i>strongly agree</i>	with the statement

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. It would be good if groups could be equal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Group equality should be our ideal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Increased social equality.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Inferior groups should stay in their place.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. No one group should dominate in society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Dear participant

Kind regards

Ines Meyer

Current subject of study or profession:

Please indicate your opinion about where the group of **Black South Africans** in general **STANDS** with regard to food, homes, health care, etc.

Do so by crossing the number which portrays your opinion best.

Example

worst possible *education* -3 -2 -1 +1 **X** +3 best possible *education*

- a) If you think Black South Africans generally have the worst possible education you need to cross '-3' next to where it says 'worst possible education'.
 b) If you think they have the best possible education you need to cross '+3'.
 c) If you think that black South Africans in general have a rather good education, though not the best possible, you would cross one of the positive numbers, which are below '+3'. This last case is shown to you in the example.

1.	worst possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>
2.	worst possible <i>homes</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>homes</i>
3.	worst possible <i>health care</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>health care</i>
4.	least possible <i>wealth</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>wealth</i>
5.	least possible <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>status</i>
6.	least possible <i>political power</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>political power</i>
7.	worst possible <i>jobs</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>jobs</i>

Now please indicate your opinion about where Black South Africans **WILL REALISTICALLY STAND IN 5 YEARS' TIME** by crossing the number which portrays your opinion best.

1.	worst possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>
2.	worst possible <i>homes</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>homes</i>
3.	worst possible <i>health care</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>health care</i>
4.	least possible <i>wealth</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>wealth</i>
5.	least possible <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>status</i>
6.	least possible <i>political power</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>political power</i>
7.	worst possible <i>jobs</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>jobs</i>

Please indicate your opinion about where **Black South Africans** SHOULD STAND IN AN IDEAL WORLD.

Again cross the number which portrays your opinion best.

1.	worst possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>
2.	worst possible <i>homes</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>homes</i>
3.	worst possible <i>health care</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>health care</i>
4.	least possible <i>wealth</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>wealth</i>
5.	least possible <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>status</i>
6.	least possible <i>political power</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>political power</i>
7.	worst possible <i>jobs</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>jobs</i>

Next please indicate your opinion about where the group of **Coloured South Africans** in general STANDS with regard to food, homes, health care, etc.

Do so by crossing the number which portrays your opinion best.

1.	worst possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>
2.	worst possible <i>homes</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>homes</i>
3.	worst possible <i>health care</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>health care</i>
4.	least possible <i>wealth</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>wealth</i>
5.	least possible <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>status</i>
6.	least possible <i>political power</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>political power</i>
7.	worst possible <i>jobs</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>jobs</i>

Now please indicate your opinion about where **Coloured South Africans** WILL REALISTICALLY STAND IN 5 YEARS' TIME by crossing the number which portrays your opinion best.

1.	worst possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>
2.	worst possible <i>homes</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>homes</i>
3.	worst possible <i>health care</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>health care</i>
4.	least possible <i>wealth</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>wealth</i>
5.	least possible <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>status</i>
6.	least possible <i>political power</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>political power</i>
7.	worst possible <i>jobs</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>jobs</i>

Please indicate your opinion about where **Coloured South Africans** **SHOULD STAND IN AN IDEAL WORLD**. Again cross the number which portrays your opinion best.

1.	worst possible access to <i>nutrition/food</i>	-3	-2	-1	-1	-2	-3	best possible access to <i>nutrition/food</i>
2.	worst possible <i>homes</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>homes</i>
3.	worst possible <i>health care</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>health care</i>
4.	least possible <i>wealth</i>	-3	-2	-1	-1	+2	+3	most possible <i>wealth</i>
5.	least possible <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>status</i>
6.	least possible <i>political power</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>political power</i>
7.	worst possible <i>jobs</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>jobs</i>

Please indicate your opinion about where the group of **White South Africans** in general STANDS with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by crossing the number which portrays your opinion best.

1.	worst possible access to <i>nutrition/food</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible access to <i>nutrition/food</i>
2.	worst possible <i>homes</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>homes</i>
3.	worst possible <i>health care</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>health care</i>
4.	least possible <i>wealth</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>wealth</i>
5.	least possible <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>status</i>
6.	least possible <i>political power</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>political power</i>
7.	worst possible <i>jobs</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>jobs</i>

Now please indicate your opinion about where **White South Africans** **WILL REALISTICALLY STAND IN 5 YEARS' TIME** by crossing the number which portrays your opinion best.

1.	worst possible access to <i>nutrition/food</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible access to <i>nutrition/food</i>
2.	worst possible <i>homes</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>homes</i>
3.	worst possible <i>health care</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>health care</i>
4.	least possible <i>wealth</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>wealth</i>
5.	least possible <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	-2	-3	most possible <i>status</i>
6.	least possible <i>political power</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>political power</i>
7.	worst possible <i>jobs</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>jobs</i>

Please indicate your opinion about where **White South Africans** SHOULD STAND IN AN IDEAL WORLD.

Again cross the number which portrays your opinion best.

1.	worst possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>
2.	worst possible <i>homes</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>homes</i>
3.	worst possible <i>health care</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>health care</i>
4.	least possible <i>wealth</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>wealth</i>
5.	least possible <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>status</i>
6.	least possible <i>political power</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>political power</i>
7.	worst possible <i>jobs</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>jobs</i>

In the following section you are required to indicate your opinion about what members of each of the indicated groups are generally like by crossing the number that reflects your opinion best.

1. Blacks	bad mannered	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	good mannered
2. Coloureds	deceitful/dishonest	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	honest
3. Whites	dirty	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	clean
4. Blacks	unintelligent	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	intelligent
5. Coloureds	close-minded	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	open-minded
6. Whites	unreliable	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	reliable
7. Blacks	selfish	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	unselfish
8. Coloureds	threatening	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	non-threatening
9. Whites	bad mannered	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	good mannered
10. Blacks	deceitful/dishonest	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	honest
11. Coloureds	dirty	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	clean
12. Whites	unintelligent	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	intelligent
13. Blacks	close-minded	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	open-minded
14. Coloureds	unreliable	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	reliable
15. Whites	selfish	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	unselfish
16. Blacks	threatening	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	non-threatening
17. Coloureds	bad mannered	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	good mannered

18. Whites	deceitful/dishonest	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	honest
19. Blacks	dirty	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	clean
20. Coloureds	unintelligent	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	intelligent
21. Whites	close-minded	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	open-minded
22. Blacks	unreliable	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	reliable
23. Coloureds	selfish	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	unselfish
24. Whites	threatening	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	non-threatening

Below you find a series of statements with which you may either agree or disagree. Please indicate the degree of your agreement by circling the appropriate number from 1 to 7.

	<i>strongly disagree</i>							<i>strongly agree</i>
1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
10. Group equality should be our ideal.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
12. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
13. Increased social equality.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	
16. No one group should dominate in society.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	

18. Whites	deceitful/dishonest	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	honest
19. Blacks	dirty	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	clean
20. Coloureds	unintelligent	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	intelligent
21. Whites	close-minded	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	open-minded
22. Blacks	unreliable	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	reliable
23. Coloureds	selfish	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	unselfish
24. Whites	threatening	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	non-threatening

Below you find a series of statements with which you may either agree or disagree. Please indicate the degree of your agreement by circling the appropriate number from 1 to 7.

	<i>strongly disagree</i>						<i>strongly agree</i>
1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
10. Group equality should be our ideal.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
12. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
13. Increased social equality.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
16. No one group should dominate in society.	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

Please choose from the list below the term that you feel describes you best (please circle)

Asian

Black

Coloured

Indian

White

Thinking of this choice, read the following statements and decide how often you feel the way described in them.

Circle

1	if you	never	feel that way
2	if you	seldom	feel that way
3	if you	sometimes	feel that way
4	if you	often	feel that way
5	if you	very often	feel that way

1	I am a person who considers the group of <i>(your choice)</i> important.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	I am a person who identifies with the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I am a person who feels strong ties with the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I am a person who is glad to belong to the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I am a person who sees myself as belonging to the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	1	2	3	4	5
6.	I am a person who makes excuses for belonging to the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	1	2	3	4	5
7.	I am a person who tries to hide the belonging to the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	1	2	3	4	5
8.	I am a person who feels held back by the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	1	2	3	4	5
9.	I am a person who is annoyed to say I'm a member of the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	1	2	3	4	5
10.	I am a person who criticises the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	1	2	3	4	5

Geagte Deelnemer

Vriendelijke groete

Ines Meyer

As u werk: u professie:

Dui asseblief u standpunt oor waar swart Suid-Afrikaners oor die algemeen STAAN ten opsigte van voeding, behuising, gesondheidsorg, ens.

Doen dit deur die nommer af te merk wat u standpunt die beste weergee.

Voorbeeld:

swakste moontlike *opvoeding* -3 -2 -1 +1 **X** +3 beste moontlike *opvoeding*

- Indien u dink dat Swart Suid-Afrikaners oor die algemeen die swakste moontlike opvoeding ontvang, moet u '-3' merk langsaa die stelling: swakste moontlike opvoeding
- Indien u dink dat hulle die beste moontlike opvoeding ontvang, moet u '+3' merk.
- Indien u dink dat Swart Suid-Afrikaners oor die algemeen redelike goeie opvoeding ontvang, maar nie die beste moontlik nie, moet u een van die positiewe nommers onder '+3' merk. Die laaste geval word vir u geïllustreer in die voorbeeld.

1.	swakste moontlike toegang tot voedsel/kos	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike toegang tot voedsel/kos
2.	swakste moontlike <i>behuising</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>behuising</i>
3.	swakste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>
4.	swakste moontlike <i>weelde</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>weelde</i>
5.	swakste moontlike <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>status</i>
6.	swakste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>
7.	swakste moontlike <i>werk</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>werk</i>

Dui nou asseblief aan waar u dink Swart Suid-Afrikaners REALISTIES SAL WEES OOR 5 JAAR deur 'n kruisie te teken oor die nommer wat u standpunt die beste voorstel.

1.	swakste moontlike toegang tot voedsel/kos	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike toegang tot voedsel/kos
2.	swakste moontlike <i>behuising</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>behuising</i>
3.	swakste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>
4.	swakste moontlike <i>weelde</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>weelde</i>
5.	swakste moontlike <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>status</i>
6.	swakste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>
7.	swakste moontlike <i>werk</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>werk</i>

Dui aan waar u dink **Swart Suid-Afrikaners** behoort te staan **IN 'N IDEALE WERELD**. Merk weereens die nommer wat u standpunt die beste voorstel.

1.	swakste moontlike toegang tot voedsel/kos	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike toegang tot voedsel/kos
2.	swakste moontlike <i>behuising</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>behuising</i>
3.	swakste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>
4.	swakste moontlike <i>weelde</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>weelde</i>
5.	swakste moontlike <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>status</i>
6.	swakste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>
7.	swakste moontlike <i>werk</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>werk</i>

Volgende, dui asseblief aan waar, volgens u, **Bruin Suid-Afrikaners** oor die algemeen **STAAN** ten opsigte van voeding, behuising, gesondheidsorg, ens.

Doen dit deur die nommer te merk wat u standpunt die beste voorstel.

1.	swakste moontlike toegang tot voedsel/kos	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike toegang tot voedsel/kos
2.	swakste moontlike <i>behuising</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>behuising</i>
3.	swakste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>
4.	swakste moontlike <i>weelde</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>weelde</i>
5.	swakste moontlike <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>status</i>
6.	swakste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>
7.	swakste moontlike <i>werk</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>werk</i>

Dui nou asseblief aan waar u dink **Bruin Suid-Afrikaners** **REALISTIES** SAL WEES OOR 5 JAAR deur 'n kruisie te teken oor die nommer wat u standpunt die beste voorstel.

1.	swakste moontlike toegang tot voedsel/kos	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike toegang tot voedsel/kos
2.	swakste moontlike <i>behuising</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>behuising</i>
3.	swakste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>
4.	swakste moontlike <i>weelde</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>weelde</i>
5.	swakste moontlike <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>status</i>
6.	swakste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>
7.	swakste moontlike <i>werk</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>werk</i>

Dui aan waar u dink **Bruin Suid-Afrikaners** behoort te staan IN 'N IDEALE WERELD.
Merk weereens die nommer wat u standpunt die beste voorstel.

1.	swakste moontlike toegang tot <i>voedsel/kos</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike toegang tot <i>voedsel/kos</i>
2.	swakste moontlike <i>behuising</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>behuising</i>
3.	swakste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>
4.	swakste moontlike <i>weelde</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>weelde</i>
5.	swakste moontlike <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>status</i>
6.	swakste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>
7.	swakste moontlike <i>werk</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>werk</i>

Dui asseblief aan waar, volgens u, **Wit Suid-Afrikaners** oor die algemeen STAAN ten opsigte van
voeding, behuising, gesondheidsorg, ens.
Doen dit deur die nommer te merk wat u standpunt die beste voorstel.

1.	swakste moontlike toegang tot <i>voedsel/kos</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike toegang tot <i>voedsel/kos</i>
2.	swakste moontlike <i>behuising</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>behuising</i>
3.	swakste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>
4.	swakste moontlike <i>weelde</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>weelde</i>
5.	swakste moontlike <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>status</i>
6.	swakste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>
7.	swakste moontlike <i>werk</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>werk</i>

Dui nou asseblief aan waar u dink **Wit Suid-Afrikaners** REALISTIES SAL WEES OOR 5 JAAR
deur 'n kruisie te teken oor die nommer wat u standpunt die beste voorstel.

1.	swakste moontlike toegang tot <i>voedsel/kos</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike toegang tot <i>voedsel/kos</i>
2.	swakste moontlike <i>behuising</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>behuising</i>
3.	swakste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>
4.	swakste moontlike <i>weelde</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>weelde</i>
5.	swakste moontlike <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>status</i>
6.	swakste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>
7.	swakste moontlike <i>werk</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>werk</i>

Dui nou asseblief aan waar u dink **Wit Suid-Afrikaners** behoort te staan **IN 'N IDEALE WERELD**.
Merk weereens die nommer wat u standpunt die beste voorstel.

1.	swakste moontlike toegang tot <i>voedsel/kos</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike toegang tot <i>voedsel/kos</i>
2.	swakste moontlike <i>behuising</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>behuising</i>
3.	swakste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>gesondheidsorg</i>
4.	swakste moontlike <i>weelde</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>weelde</i>
5.	swakste moontlike <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	meeste moontlike <i>status</i>
6.	swakste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>politieke mag</i>
7.	swakste moontlike <i>werk</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	beste moontlike <i>werk</i>

In die volgende afdeling word van u versoek om aan te dui hoe lede van elkeen van die aangeduide bevolkingssgroepe oor die algemeen beskryf kan word, deur die nommer te merk wat die meeste met u standpunt saamstem.

1.	Swartmense	sleg gemanierd	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	goed gemanierd
2.	Bruinmense	oneerlik	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	eerlik
3.	Witmense	vuil	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	skoon
4.	Swartmense	onintelligent	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	intelligent
5.	Bruinmense	geslote denke	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	vry denkend
6.	Witmense	onbetroubaar	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	betroubaar
7.	Swartmense	selfsugtig	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	onselfsugtig
8.	Bruinmense	dreigend	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	geen bedreiging
9.	Witmense	sleg gemanierd	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	goed gemanierd
10.	Swartmense	oneerlik	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	eerlik
11.	Bruinmense	vuil	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	skoon
12.	Witmense	onintelligent	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	intelligent
13.	Swartmense	geslote denke	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	vry denkend
14.	Bruinmense	onbetroubaar	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	betroubaar
15.	Witmense	selfsugtig	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	onselfsugtig
16.	Swartmense	dreigend	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	geen bedreiging

17. Bruinmense	sleg gemanierd	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	goed gemanierd
18. Witmense	oneerlik	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	eerlik
19. Swartmense	vuil	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	skoon
20. Bruinmense	onintelligent	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	intelligent
21. Witmense	geslote denke	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	vry denkend
22. Swartmense	onbetroubaar	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	betroubaar
23. Bruinmense	selfsugtig	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	onselfsugtig
24. Witmense	dreigend	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	geen bedreiging

Hieronder vind u'n reeks stellings waarmee u moontlik kan saamstem of miskien nie mee saamstem nie. Dui asseblief die mate waarin u saamstem, of nie saamstem nie, deur die gepaste nommer te omsirkel vanaf nommers '1' tot '7'.

Omsirkel nommer

1	indien u	<i>sterk verskil</i>	met die stelling
2	indien u	<i>gedeeltelik verskil</i>	met die stelling
3	indien u	<i>effens verskil</i>	met die stelling
4	indien u	<i>nie regtig 'n standpunt het nie</i>	oor die stelling
5	indien u	<i>effens saamstem</i>	met die stelling
6	indien u	<i>gedeeltelik saamstem</i>	met die stelling
7	indien u	<i>sterk saamstem</i>	met die stelling

Onthou: U eerste antwoorde is gewoonlik die akkuraatste.

1. Sommige groepe mense is eenvoudig minderwaardig tot ander groepe.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Dit is soms nodig om mag af te dwing teenoor ander groepe om te kry wat mens wil hê.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Dis aanvaarbaar as sommige groepe 'n bester kans in die lewe het as ander.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Om vooruit te kom in die lewe, is dit soms nodig om op ander groepe te trap.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. As sekere groepe op hulle plek gebly het, sou ons minder probleme gehad het.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Dit is seker 'n goeie ding dat sekere groepe bo anders geplaas word.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Minderwaardige groepe moet in hulle plek bly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Soms moet ander groepe op hul plek gehou word.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Dit sou goes wees as groepe gelyk kon wees.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Groep gelykheid behoort ons ideaal te wees.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Alle groepe behoort 'n gelyke kans in die lewe te kry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Ons moet doen wat ons kan om gelyke omstandighede vir verskillende groepe te bewerkstellig.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Verhoogde sosiale gelykheid.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Ons sou minder probleme hê as ons mense meer gelyk behandel.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15. Ons moet daarna streef om inkomstes so gelyk as moontlik te maak. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 16. Geen een groep behoort die gemeenskap te domieer nie. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Kies asseblief van die onderstaande lys die een wat u die beste beskryf (omsirkel asseblief)

Asies	Swart	Bruin	Indies	Wit
-------	-------	-------	--------	-----

Met u keuse in gedagte, lees asseblief die volgende stellings en besluit hoe gereeld u voel soos wat in die stellings beskryf word.

Omsirkel

1	indien u	<i>nooit</i>	so voel nie
2	indien u	<i>min</i>	so voel nie
3	indien u	<i>soms</i>	so voel nie
4	indien u	<i>gereeld</i>	so voel nie
5	indien u	<i> baie gereeld</i>	so voel nie

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Ek is 'n persoon wat (<i>die groep van u keuse</i>) belangrik ag. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Ek is 'n persoon wat my vereenselwig met die (<i>groep van u keuse</i>). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. Ek is 'n persoon wat 'n sterk band ervaar met (<i>die groep van u keuse</i>). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. Ek is 'n persoon wat bly is om te behoort aan (<i>die groep van u keuse</i>). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. Ek is 'n persoon wat myself sien as behoordende tot (<i>die groep van u keuse</i>). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. Ek is 'n persoon wat verskonings uitdink vir waarom ek aan (<i>die groep van u keuse</i>) behoort. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. Ek is 'n persoon wat probeer om (<i>die groep van u keuse</i>) waaraan ek behoort weg te steek. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. Ek is 'n persoon wat voel ek word teruggehou deur (<i>die groep van u keuse</i>). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. Ek is 'n persoon wat nie hou daarvan om te sê dat ek aan (<i>die groep van u keuse</i>) behoort nie. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. Ek is 'n persoon wat (<i>die groep van u keuse</i>) kritiseer. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Appendix A-8: Xhosa questionnaire form, Study 2

Mthathi-nxaxheba othandekayo

Olu vavanyo luyinxalenye yezifundo zam zobugqirha kwiYunivesithi yaseKapa. Ndiyakubulela ngokunikezela ngexesha lakho kolu phando lwam. Kuya kukuthabatha malunga nemizuzu engama-20 ukuzalisa olu xwebhu lwemibuzo.

Ndinomdla kwimbono yomntu ngokubhekiselele kwimiba emininzi yoluntu. Ngamanye amaxesha ndizokuthetha ngabaNtsundu, abeBala, abaNhlophe, baseMzantsi-Afrika. Lontoleyo ayithethi ukuba mna ndikholelwa ekubeni ucalu-calulo lweentlanga lusekho apha eMzantsi Afrika. Kunyanzelekile ukuba ndilusebenzise olucalucalulo lweentlanga kuze kuvele bubala uhlobo abantu balapha eMzantsi-Afrika babona ngalo isimo sentlalo nezoqoqosho phakathi kweezintlanga.

Ndithanda ukwazi ukuba wena ucinga ntoni. Akukho zimpendulo zilungileyo okanye ezingalunganga.

Zama ukuba ungathabathi thuba lide ucinga ngomba ngamnye onikiweyo. Kumaxesha amaninzi impendulo yakho yokuqala yeyona othi uphinde ubuyele kuyo ekugqibeleni.

Nceda unike impendulo kuyo yonke imiba ebekiweyo nokokuba kunzima kangakanani na ukunika imbono ngayo.

Olu vavanyo lufihlakele. Akuyi kubakho mntu waziyo ukuba nguwe lo ubephendula apha.

Ukuba unemibuzo onayo khululeka uqhagamshelane nam kwisebe lezifundo Zenzululwazi Ngengqondo (Psychology) leYunivesithi yaseKapa.

Enkosi

Ines Meyer

Nceda unike olu lwazi lulandelayo ngokuthi wenze olu phawu (✓) kwibhokisi elungileyo okanye ubhale kwisithuba esilungiselelwe oko:

1. Unyaka wakho wokuzalwa: _____

2. Isini: Ubhinqile ☐ 1 Uyindoda ☐ 2

3. Yayiluluphi udidi ngokwebala abazali bakho ababebekwe phantsi kwalo ngokwemithetho yoCalu-calulo?

Abamnyama ☐ 1 AbeBala ☐ 2 Ama-Indiya ☐ 3 AbaNhlophe ☐ 4

Olunye ☐ 5 *cacisa:* _____

4. Inkolo: UnguMkristu ☐ 1 unguMhindu ☐ 2 UnguMjuda ☐ 3 UnguMozilem ☐ 4

Ungumntu Ongakhohlwayo kuThixo ☐ 5 Enye ☐ 6 *cacisa:* _____

5. Ubuhlanga: Ungowase Mzantsi Afrika ☐ 1 ulolunye ☐ 2 *cacisa:* _____

Ukuba ulolunye: Unexesha elingakanani ulapha eMzantsi Afrika? _____ iminyaka

6. Inqanaba eliphakamileyo lemfundo yesikolo: _____ igreyidi

7. Ingaba usesesikolweni?

Ewe ☐ 1 hayi ☐ 2

ukuba ngu-hayi:

Unemfundo yamabanga aphezulu kulawo esikolo?

Ewe ☐ 1 hayi ☐ 2

Izifundo ozenzayo ngoku okanye ubuchule bemfundo: _____

Nceda phawula imbono yakho ngomgangatho ocinga ukuba iqela labantu abaNtsundu boMzantsi Afrika jikelele BEMI kuwo ngokubhekiselele ekutyeni, kumakhaya, kulolongo lwempilo, njl. njl. Kwenze oku ngokuthi uphawule (x) inani elibonakalisa kakuhle imbono yakho.

Umzekelo:

Abantsundu	baneyona <i>mfundo</i> ingekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	X	+3	baneyona <i>mfundo</i> ikumgangatho ophezulu
a)	Ukuba ngaba ucinga ukuba abaNtsundu boMzantsi Afrika nje ngokubanzi baneyona mfundo ingekho mgangathweni kufuneka uphawule u '-3' ecaleni lale ndawo ithi 'baneyona mfundo ingekho mgangathweni'.							
b)	Ukuba ngaba ucinga ukuba baneyona mfundo ikumgangatho ophezulu kufuneka uphawule u '+3'.							
c)	Ukuba ngaba ucinga ukuba abaNtsundu boMzantsi Afrika nje ngokubanzi banemfundo elungileyo, kodwa engekho kumgangatho ophezulu, kuya kufuneka uphawule elinye lamanani anolu phawu (+) angaphantsi ko'+3'. Le meko yokugqibela uyiboniswe phaya kumzekelo.							

1. Abantsundu	banokona <i>kutya</i> okungekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	banokona <i>kutya</i> kukumgangatho ophezulu
2. Abantsundu	<i>banamakhaya</i> angekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>banamakhaya</i> akumgangatho ophezulu
3. Abantsundu	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> alukho	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> luku- mgangatho ophezulu
4. Abantsundu	bakumgangatho ophantsi <i>ngobutyebi</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu banobona <i>butyebi</i>
5. Abantsundu	bangabantu abakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu bakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphezulu
6. Abantsundu	ngabona bantu <i>bangenamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>
7. Abantsundu	ngabona <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephucukileyo

Ngoku ke nceda unike imbono yakho ngeqondo labaNtsundu boMzantsi Afrika ABAYA KUBA BEKULO KWIMINYAKA EMI-5 EZAYO ngokuthi uphawule inani elibonisa imbono yakho kakuhle.

1. Abantsundu	banokona <i>kutya</i> okungekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	banokona <i>kutya</i> kukumgangatho ophezulu
2. Abantsundu	<i>banamakhaya</i> angekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>banamakhaya</i> akumgangatho ophezulu
3. Abantsundu	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> alukho	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> luku- mgangatho ophezulu
4. Abantsundu	bakumgangatho ophantsi <i>ngobutyebi</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu banobona <i>butyebi</i>
5. Abantsundu	bangabantu abakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu bakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphezulu
6. Abantsundu	ngabona bantu <i>bangenamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>
7. Abantsundu	ngabona <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephucukileyo

Nceda ubonise imbono yakho yokuba baya kuba KUWUPHI UMGANGATHO abantu abaNtsundu boMzantsi Afrika kweli lizwe xa sele ILILIZWE ELILILO. Kwakhona phawula inani elibonisa imbono yakho kakuhle.

1. Abantsundu	banokona <i>kutya</i> okungekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	banokona <i>kutya</i> kukumgangatho ophezulu
2. Abantsundu	<i>banamakhaya</i> angekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>banamakhaya</i> akumgangatho ophezulu
3. Abantsundu	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> alukho	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> luku- mgangatho ophezulu
4. Abantsundu	bakumgangatho ophantsi <i>ngobutyebi</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu banobona <i>butyebi</i>
5. Abantsundu	bangabantu abakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu bakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphezulu
6. Abantsundu	ngabona bantu <i>bangenamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>
7. Abantsundu	ngabona <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephucukileyo

Nceda phawula imbono yakho ngomgangatho ocinga ukuba iqela labantu Bebala boMzantsi Afrika jikelele BEMI kuwo ngokubhekiselele ekutyeni, kumakhaya, kulolongo lwempilo, njl. njl. Kwenze oku ngokuthi uphawule (x) inani elibonakalisa kakuhle imbono yakho.

1. Abebala	banokona <i>kutya</i> okungekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	banokona <i>kutya</i> kukumgangatho ophezulu
2. Abebala	<i>banamakhaya</i> angekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>banamakhaya</i> akumgangatho ophezulu
3. Abebala	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> alukho	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> luku- mgangatho ophezulu
4. Abebala	bakumgangatho ophantsi <i>ngobutyebi</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu banobona <i>butyebi</i>
5. Abebala	bangabantu abakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu bakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphezulu
6. Abebala	ngabona bantu <i>bangenamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>
7. Abebala	ngabona <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephucukileyo

Ngoku nceda ubonise imbono yakho ngeqondo leli qela labantu beBala eliya kuba LIKULO KWIMINYAKA EMI-5 EZAYO ngokuthi uphawule inani elibonisa imbono yakho kakuhle.

1. Abebala	banokona <i>kutya</i> okungekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	banokona <i>kutya</i> kukumgangatho ophezulu
2. Abebala	<i>banamakhaya</i> angekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>banamakhaya</i> akumgangatho ophezulu
3. Abebala	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> alukho	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> luku- mgangatho ophezulu
4. Abebala	bakumgangatho ophantsi <i>ngobutyebi</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu banobona <i>butyebi</i>
5. Abebala	bangabantu abakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu bakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphezulu
6. Abebala	ngabona bantu <i>bangenamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>
7. Abebala	ngabona <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephucukileyo

Nceda ubonise imbono yakho yokuba leliphi inqanaba abantu Belala kufuneka babekulo kwilizwe elililo.

1. Abebala	banokona <i>kutya</i> okungekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	banokona <i>kutya</i> kukumgangatho ophezulu
2. Abebala	<i>banamakhaya</i> angekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>banamakhaya</i> akumgangatho ophezulu
3. Abebala	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> alukho	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> lukumgangatho ophezulu
4. Abebala	bakumgangatho ophantsi <i>ngobutyebi</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu banobona <i>butyebi</i>
5. Abebala	bangabantu abakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu bakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphezulu
6. Abebala	ngabona bantu <i>bangenamandla ngokwezopolitiko</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banamandla ngokwezopolitiko</i>
7. Abebala	ngabona <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephucukileyo

Nceda phawula imbono yakho ngomgangatho ocinga ukuba iqela labantu abaMhlophe boMzantsi Afrika jikelele BEMI kuwo ngokubhekiselele ekutyeni, kumakhaya, kulolongo lwempilo, njl. njl. Kwenze oku ngokuthi uphawule (x) inani elibonakalisa kakuhle imbono yakho.

1. Abamhlope	banokona <i>kutya</i> okungekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	banokona <i>kutya</i> kukumgangatho ophezulu
2. Abamhlope	<i>banamakhaya</i> angekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>banamakhaya</i> akumgangatho ophezulu
3. Abamhlope	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> alukho	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> lukumgangatho ophezulu
4. Abamhlope	bakumgangatho ophantsi <i>ngobutyebi</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu banobona <i>butyebi</i>
5. Abamhlope	bangabantu abakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu bakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphezulu
6. Abamhlope	ngabona bantu <i>bangenamandla ngokwezopolitiko</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banamandla ngokwezopolitiko</i>
7. Abamhlope	ngabona <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephucukileyo

Ngoku ke nceda unikeze imbono yakho malungana nomgangatho ekufuneka abaNhlophe boMzantsi Afrika BEKUWO NGOKWENENE KWIMINYAKA EMIHLANU EZAYO ngokuthi uphawule inani elibonisa imbono yakho kakuhle.

1. Abamhlope	banokona <i>kutya</i> okungekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	banokona <i>kutya</i> kukumgangatho ophezulu
2. Abamhlope	<i>banamakhaya</i> angekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>banamakhaya</i> akumgangatho ophezulu
3. Abamhlope	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> alukho	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> luku- mgangatho ophezulu
4. Abamhlope	bakumgangatho ophantsi <i>ngobutyebi</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu banobona <i>butyebi</i>
5. Abamhlope	bangabantu abakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu bakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphezulu
6. Abamhlope	ngabona bantu <i>bangenamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>
7. Abamhlope	ngabona <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephucukileyo

Nceda unike imbono yakho malunga nomgangatho wabantu abaNhlophe ABAFANELE UKUBA KUWO NGOKWENENE kweli lizwe xa sele ILILIZWE ELILILO. Kwakhona phawula inani elibonisa imbono yakho kakuhle.

1. Abamhlope	banokona <i>kutya</i> okungekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	banokona <i>kutya</i> kukumgangatho ophezulu
2. Abamhlope	<i>banamakhaya</i> angekho mgangathweni	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>banamakhaya</i> akumgangatho ophezulu
3. Abamhlope	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> alukho	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	<i>ulolongo lwabo lwempilo</i> luku- mgangatho ophezulu
4. Abamhlope	bakumgangatho ophantsi <i>ngobutyebi</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu banobona <i>butyebi</i>
5. Abamhlope	bangabantu abakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu bakwelona <i>nqanaba</i> liphezulu
6. Abamhlope	ngabona bantu <i>bangenamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banamandla</i> <i>ngokwezopolitiko</i>
7. Abamhlope	ngabona <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephantsi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	ngabona bantu <i>banemisebenzi</i> ephucukileyo

Kweli candelo lilandelayo uyacelwa ukuba ubonise imbono yakho malunga nokuba anjani na ngokubanzi amalungu eqela ngalinye labemi olinikiweyo ngokuthi uphawule inani elibonisa imbono yakho kakuhle.

1. Abantsundu	abakwazi ukuziphatha kakuhle	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	baziphatha kakuhle
2. Abebala	banamaqhinga/ abanyanisekanga	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	banyanisekile
3. Abamhlope	bamdaka	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	bacocekile
4. Abantsundu	abakho krelekrele	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	bakrelekrele
5. Abebala	abacingi ngokubanzi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	bacinga banzi
6. Abamhlope	abathembakelanga	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	bathembakele
7. Abantsundu	bacingela iziqu zabo	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	abacingeli iziqu zabo zodwa
8. Abebala	bayakukusongela	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	abasongeli mntu
9. Abamhlope	abakwazi ukuziphatha kakuhle	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	baziphatha kakuhle
10. Abantsundu	banamaqhinga/ abanyanisekanga	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	banyanisekile
11. Abebala	bamdaka	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	bacocekile
12. Abamhlope	abakho krelekrele	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	bakrelekrele
13. Abantsundu	abacingi ngokubanzi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	bacinga banzi
14. Abebala	abathembakelanga	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	bathembakele
15. Abamhlope	bacingela iziqu zabo	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	abacingeli iziqu zabo zodwa
16. Abantsundu	bayakukusongela	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	abasongeli mntu
17. Abebala	abakwazi ukuziphatha kakuhle	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	baziphatha kakuhle
18. Abamhlope	banamaqhinga/ abanyanisekanga	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	banyanisekile
19. Abantsundu	bamdaka	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	bacocekile
20. Abebala	abakho krelekrele	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	bakrelekrele
21. Abamhlope	abacingi ngokubanzi	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	bacinga banzi
22. Abantsundu	abathembakelanga	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	bathembakele
23. Abebala	bacingela iziqu zabo	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	abacingeli iziqu zabo zodwa
24. Abamhlope	bayakukusongela	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	abasongeli mntu

Apha ngasezantsi uya kufumana uludwe lwemiba ekunokuthi mhlawumbi uvumelane nayo okanye ungavumelani nayo. Nceda bonisa ubungakanani bokuvumelana ngokuthi wenze isazinge kwinani elilungileyo ngokukokwakho ukusukela ku-'1' ukuya kwisi-'7'.

Inani elinesazinge

1	Ukuba ngaba	<i>akuvumelani kakhulu kwaphela</i>	nomba lowo
2	Ukuba ngaba	<i>akuvumelani kodwa kungabi kakhulu</i>	nomba lowo
3	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uvumelana ungavumelani</i>	nomba lowo
4	Ukuba ngaba	<i>akunambono</i>	ngomba lowo
5	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uyavumelana kancinane</i>	nomba lowo
6	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uyavumelana kodwa hayi kangako</i>	nomba lowo
7	Ukuba ngaba	<i>uyavumelana kakhulu</i>	nomba lowo

Khumbula ukuba impendulo yakho yokuqala iba yeyona ilungileyo kumaxesha amaninzi..

1. Amanye amaqela abantu akumgangatho ongaphantsi kunamanye.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Ukuzuza le nto uyifunayo, kuba yimfuneko ngamanye amaxesha ukuyifuna ngenkani kwamanye amaqela.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Ilungile into yokokuba amanye amaqela abantu abe namathuba apha ebomini ngaphezulu kwamanye amaqela.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Ukuze unyukele kumgangatho ophezulu apha ebomini kuye kube yimfuneko ngamanye amaxesha ukunyathela phezulu kwamanye amaqela abantu.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Ukuba ngaba amaqela abantu athile ebehlala ezindaweni ezizezawo, singaneengxaki ezimbalwa kakhulu.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Kusenokwenzeka mhlawumbi ukuba yinto entle into yokokuba amaqela abantu athile abe kumgangatho ophezulu aze amanye amaqela abantu abe kumgangatho osezantsi.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Amaqela abantu akumgangatho ophantsi kufuneka ahlale endaweni yawo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Ngamanye amaxesha amanye amaqela abantu kufuneka agcinwe endaweni yawo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Kungakuhle kakhulu ukuba amaqela abantu angalingana.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Ukulinganiswa kwamaqela abantu yeyona nto ilungileyo sijonge kuyo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Onke amaqela abantu kufuneka anikwe amathuba alinganayo apha ebomini.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Kufuneka senze konke esinakho ukukwenza ukulinganisa iimeko zamaqela abantu awahlukeneyo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Kufuneka siphakamise umgangatho wokulingana koluntu.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Singaneengxaki ezimbalwa kakhulu ukuba singabaphatha abantu ngendlela efanayo nelinganayo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Kufuneka sizame ukwenza imivuzo ilingane kangangoko sinakho.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Akufuneki kubekho iqela labantu elithile elilawulayo apha eluntwini.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Ukucinga ngale ndlela, funda le miba ilandelayo uze ugqibe ukuba kukangakanani ukhe ucinge yaye uzive ngale ndlela ichazwe apha kuyo ngezantsi.

Yenza isazinge

1	ukuba ngaba	<i>zange</i>	uzive ngale ndlela
2	ukuba ngaba	<i>akufane</i>	uzive ngale ndlela
3	ukuba ngaba	<i>ukhe ngamanye amaxesha</i>	uzive ngale ndlela
4	ukuba ngaba	<i>amaxesha amaninzi</i>	uzive ngale ndlela
5	ukuba ngaba	<i>amaxesha amaninzi kakhulu</i>	uzive ngale ndlela

1. Mna ndingumntu obabona abantu baqela (<i>khetha iqela lakho</i>) bebalulekile.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Mna ndingumntu ozibandakanya nabantu beqeke (<i>khetha iqela lakho</i>).	1	2	3	4	5
3. Mna ndingumntu oziva enonxibelelwano olukhulu neqela (<i>khetha iqela lakho</i>).	1	2	3	4	5
4. Mna ndingumntu ovuyayo ukuba yinxalenye yeqela (<i>khetha iqela lakho</i>).	1	2	3	4	5
5. Mna ndingumntu ozibona njengomntu olilungu leqela (<i>khetha iqela lakho</i>).	1	2	3	4	5
6. Mna ndingumntu osoloko enika izizathu zokuzigwebela ngokuba yinxalenye yeqela (<i>khetha iqela lakho</i>).	1	2	3	4	5
7. Mna ndingumntu osoloko ezama ukukufihla ukuba yinxalenye yeqela (<i>khetha iqela lakho</i>).	1	2	3	4	5
8. Mna ndingumntu osoloko elibona iqela (<i>khetha iqela lakho</i>) limbuyisela umva.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Mna ndingumntu osoloko eziva ecaphuka ukuzichaza ukuba ndililungu leqela (<i>khetha iqela lakho</i>).	1	2	3	4	5
10. Mna ndingumntu osoloko egxeka iqela (<i>khetha iqela lakho</i>).	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix B

- Study 1 -

Appendix B-1: Factor loadings of the RWA items

RWA items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
1. It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion, than to listen to the noisy rabble rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's mind.	.594	.091	-.007
2. There is nothing immoral or sick in somebody being a homosexual. ¹	.193	.226	.605
3. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.	.607	.075	-.157
4. "Free speech" means that people should even be allowed to make speeches and write books urging the overthrow of the government. ¹	.076	.625	.132
5. In these troubled times laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring up things.	.654	.131	.019
6. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.	.418	-.131	-.385
7. It is best to treat dissenters with leniency and an open mind, since new ideas are the lifeblood of progressive change. ¹	-.204	.379	.505
8. The biggest threat to our freedom comes from the communists and their kind, who are out to destroy religion, ridicule patriotism, corrupt the youth, and in general undermine our whole way of life.	.642	.088	.144
9. The way things are going in this country, it is going to take a lot of "strong medicine" to straiten out troublemakers, criminals and perverts.	.653	.017	.115
10. It is important to protect fully the rights of radicals and deviants. ¹	-.097	.611	-.054
11. Rules about being "well-mannered" and respectable are chains from the past which we should question very thoroughly before accepting. ¹	-.060	.649	-.182
12. Once the government leaders and the authorities condemn the dangerous elements in our society, it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stamp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within.	.644	.016	.004
13. The self-righteous "forces of law and order" threaten freedom in our country a lot more than most of the groups they claim are "radical" and "godless". ¹	-.364	.297	-.062
14. Students in high school and at university must be encouraged to challenge their parents' ways, confront established authorities and in general criticise the customs and traditions of our society. ¹	-.029	.562	-.527

¹ = items phrased in the non-authoritarian direction

Appendix B-2: Corrected item-total correlations for the initial RWA items

RWA items	
1. It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion, than to listen to the noisy rabble rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's mind.	.331
2. There is nothing immoral or sick in somebody being a homosexual.	.159
3. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.	.324
4. "Free speech" means that people should even be allowed to make speeches and write books urging the overthrow of the government.	.262
5. In these troubled times laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring up things.	.385
6. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.	.132
7. It is best to treat dissenters with leniency and an open mind, since new ideas are the lifeblood of progressive change.	.022
8. The biggest threat to our freedom comes from the communists and their kind, who are out to destroy religion, ridicule patriotism, corrupt the youth, and in general undermine our whole way of life.	.278
9. The way things are going in this country, it is going to take a lot of "strong medicine" to straiten out troublemakers, criminals and perverts.	.320
10. It is important to protect fully the rights of radicals and deviants.	.155
11. Rules about being "well-mannered" and respectable are chains from the past which we should question very thoroughly before accepting.	.193
12. Once the government leaders and the authorities condemn the dangerous elements in our society, it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stamp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within.	.298
13. The self-righteous "forces of law and order" threaten freedom in our country a lot more than most of the groups they claim are "radical" and "godless".	-.086
14. Students in high school and at university must be encouraged to challenge their parents' ways, confront established authorities and in general criticise the customs and traditions of our society.	.156

Appendix B-3: Corrected item-total correlations for the final RWA items

RWA items	
1. It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion, than to listen to the noisy rabble rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's mind.	.428
3. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.	.449
5. In these troubled times laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring up things.	.482
6. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.	.273
8. The biggest threat to our freedom comes from the communists and their kind, who are out to destroy religion, ridicule patriotism, corrupt the youth, and in general undermine our whole way of life.	.442
9. The way things are going in this country, it is going to take a lot of "strong medicine" to straiten out troublemakers, criminals and perverts.	.477
12. Once the government leaders and the authorities condemn the dangerous elements in our society, it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stamp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within.	.448

Appendix B-4: Factor loadings of the Tough Mindedness items

Tough Mindedness items		Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
1.	kind	.608	-.359	-.107	.071	-.410
2.	compassionate	.657	-.290	-.142	.134	-.424
3.	ruthless	.436	.418	-.428	.071	.048
4.	cynical	.227	.237	-.515	.214	.480
5.	tough minded	.152	.451	.042	.664	.144
6.	tender minded	.461	-.204	.240	.536	-.144
7.	forgiving	.544	-.348	.041	.068	.143
8.	hard	.453	.490	.217	.320	.036
9.	caring	.659	-.353	-.080	-.118	.164
10.	giving	.630	-.369	-.035	-.058	.124
11.	merciless	.551	.352	-.323	-.085	-.212
12.	gentle	.555	-.292	.316	.028	.283
13.	hard-hearted	.441	.558	.175	.094	-.225
14.	unfeeling	.596	.354	-.113	-.301	.031
15.	soft-hearted	.520	-.159	.451	-.055	.201
16.	brutal	.546	.425	.161	-.203	-.207
17.	humane	.567	-.220	-.176	.006	.180
18.	sympathetic	.643	-.331	-.074	.005	.035
19.	uncaring	.626	.287	-.066	-.384	.073
20.	harsh	.325	.460	.491	-.259	.128

**Appendix B-5: Corrected item-total correlations of the
Tough Mindedness scale**

Tough Mindedness items

1. kind	.462
2. compassionate	.524
3. ruthless	.420
4. cynical	.211
5. tough minded	.186
6. tender minded	.373
7. forgiving	.416
8. hard	.464
9. caring	.513
10. giving	.485
11. merciless	.502
12. gentle	.436
13. hard-hearted	.447
14. unfeeling	.544
15. soft-hearted	.416
16. brutal	.510
17. humane	.442
18. sympathetic	.501
19. uncaring	.565
20. harsh	.311

Appendix B-6: Factor loadings of the Social Conformity items

Social Conformity items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
1. rebellious	.465	-.364	-.217	.105
2. unorthodox	.392	-.299	-.562	.023
3. conforming	.448	.331	.509	.365
4. conventional	.547	.429	.164	.276
5. old-fashioned	.235	.254	.551	.009
6. free-living	.409	-.254	.268	-.309
7. non-conforming	.537	-.328	.198	.427
8. moralistic	.381	.537	-.368	-.078
9. obedient	.556	.399	-.332	-.179
10. unconventional	.485	-.341	-.174	.460
11. unpredictable	.534	-.374	.188	-.430
12. erratic	.545	-.421	.002	-.121
13. respectful	.348	.481	-.396	.080
14. predictable	.574	.217	.183	-.528

Appendix B-7: Corrected item-total correlations of the Social Conformity scale

Social Conformity items	
1. rebellious	.338
2. unorthodox	.257
3. conforming	.322
4. conventional	.409
5. old-fashioned	.153
6. free-living	.286
7. non-conforming	.401
8. moralistic	.254
9. obedient	.420
10. unconventional	.343
11. unpredictable	.381
12. erratic	.398
13. respectful	.227
14. predictable	.434

Appendix B-8: Factor loadings for the Rosenberg self esteem scale

Self esteem items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	.591	-.289	-.363
2. At times I think I am no good at all.	.522	.414	-.385
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	.593	-.457	.094
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	.592	-.410	.183
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	.480	.411	.387
6. I certainly feel useless at times.	.569	.381	-.376
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	.508	-.249	.506
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.	.368	.521	.295
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	.650	.330	.117
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	.637	-.354	-.255

Appendix B-9: Corrected item-total correlations for the Rosenberg self esteem scale

Self esteem items	
11. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	.409
12. At times I think I am no good at all.	.415
13. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	.403
14. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	.407
15. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	.378
16. I certainly feel useless at times.	.449
17. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	.347
18. I wish I could have more respect for myself.	.292
19. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	.538
20. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	.436

Appendix B-10: Factor loadings of the SDO₆ items

SDO ₆ items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	.236	.507	.524	.293
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.	.362	.509	.366	.246
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.	.540	.327	-.158	-.062
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	.443	.491	.088	.168
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.	.521	.457	-.178	-.033
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.	.614	.315	-.224	.014
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.	.597	.356	-.167	-.424
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	.572	.400	-.180	-.322
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.	.611	-.356	.226	-.244
10. Group equality should be our ideal.	.667	-.365	.142	-.016
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.	.588	-.431	.365	-.222
12. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.	.722	-.304	.062	.002
13. Increased social equality.	.679	-.363	.025	-.069
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.	.591	-.302	.076	.265
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.	.398	-.373	-.397	.333
16. No one group should dominate in society.	.585	-.109	-.294	.501

Appendix B-11: Gender differences in SDO, OEQ and GBD scores for various subgroups.

Category		Gender	N	M	SD	t-Statistic	d
Language	English	Female	257	2.19	.92	$t_{422} = 2.12^*$	.22
		Male	167	2.39	.95		
		Female	257	1.83	1.00	$t_{422} = 1.06$	.10
		Male	167	1.93	.98		
		Female	257	2.55	1.28	$t_{422} = 2.26^*$	.23
		Male	167	2.84	1.28		
	Afrikaans	Female	131	2.50	1.04	$t_{204} = 5.41^{**}$	.77
		Male	75	3.37	1.24		
		Female	131	2.05	1.18	$t_{131.78} = 4.45^{**}$	.68
		Male	75	2.91	1.44		
		Female	131	2.96	1.56	$t_{204} = 3.93^{**}$	.56
		Male	75	3.83	1.50		
	Xhosa	Female	76	3.07	.84	$t_{139} = 1.54$	.11
		Male	65	2.84	.88		
		Female	76	2.48	1.25	$t_{139} = 1.11$	.08
		Male	65	2.25	1.20		
		Female	76	3.66	1.12	$t_{139} = 1.21$	.09
		Male	65	3.44	1.08		
Race	Black	Female	151	2.89	.89	$t_{255} = 1.82$	.11
		Male	106	2.68	.96		
		Female	151	2.18	1.16	$t_{255} = .53$	.08
		Male	106	2.10	1.16		
		Female	151	3.60	1.18	$t_{255} = 2.33^*$	.11
		Male	106	3.25	1.20		
	Coloured	Female	150	2.22	.95	$t_{259} = 2.46^*$	.30
		Male	111	2.51	.99		
		Female	150	1.72	.99	$t_{259} = 1.78$	.22
		Male	111	1.94	.99		
		Female	150	2.72	1.41	$t_{259} = 2.10^*$	.26
		Male	111	3.08	1.38		
	White	Female	163	2.18	.97	$t_{145.45} = 5.56^{**}$	.80
		Male	90	3.04	1.29		
		Female	163	2.08	1.15	$t_{158.96} = 4.05^{**}$	.56
		Male	90	2.77	1.37		
		Female	163	2.28	1.25	$t_{156.32} = 5.56^{**}$	.77
		Male	90	3.31	1.51		

Appendix B-11: (continued)

Category		Gender	N	M	SD	t-Statistic	d
Age	13-18	Female	165	2.64	1.02	$t_{303} = 4.27^{**}$	.48
		Male	140	3.15	1.10		
		Female	165	2.17	1.09	$t_{272.28} = 3.58^{**}$	.42
		Male	140	2.67	1.30		
		Female	165	3.10	1.40	$t_{303} = 3.63^{**}$	.39
		Male	140	3.64	1.33		
	19-25	Female	128	2.45	.97	$t_{204} = 1.43$	.17
		Male	78	2.61	.88		
		Female	128	2.10	1.09	$t_{204} = .05$	.01
		Male	78	2.11	1.16		
		Female	128	2.80	1.26	$t_{204} = 2.19^*$	.21
		Male	78	3.17	1.02		
	>25	Female	171	2.19	.94	$t_{258} = .58$	.08
		Male	89	2.12	.95		
		Female	171	1.74	1.14	$t_{258} = .50$	.07
		Male	89	1.67	.83		
		Female	171	2.65	1.46	$t_{258} = .42$	.06
		Male	89	2.57	1.42		
Education	Tertiary	Female	184	2.08	.89	$t_{250} = .86$	.10
		Male	68	2.19	.93		
		Female	184	1.80	.95	$t_{250} = .97$	.14
		Male	68	1.93	.98		
		Female	184	2.35	1.26	$t_{250} = .50$	.07
		Male	68	2.44	1.20		
	No tertiary	Female	60	2.30	.86	$t_{110} = .60$	.11
		Male	52	2.40	.91		
		Female	60	1.72	1.28	$t_{110} = .17$	.03
		Male	52	1.75	.82		
		Female	60	2.88	1.34	$t_{110} = .62$	.12
		Male	52	3.04	1.42		

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$

N = sample size; M = mean; SD = standard deviation, d = effect size

Average effect size $d = .32$ for males higher than females; $d = .17$ for females higher than males

Appendix B-12: Gender differences in SDO, OEQ and GBD scores for various subgroups (English questionnaires only).

Category		Gender	N	M	SD	t-Statistic	d
Race	Black	Female	75	2.71	.92	$t_{114} = 1.59$	.31
		Male	41	2.41	1.02		
		Female	75	1.86	.99	$t_{114} = .02$	.00
		Male	41	1.86	1.05		
		Female	75	3.55	1.23	$t_{114} = 2.40^*$	.46
		Male	41	2.96	1.34		
	Coloured	Female	83	1.95	.82	$t_{168} = 3.74^{**}$	.58
		Male	87	2.47	.96		
		Female	83	1.62	.89	$t_{168} = 2.21^*$	.34
		Male	87	1.94	1.00		
		Female	83	2.29	1.10	$t_{168} = 3.79^{**}$	.00
		Male	87	2.99	1.30		
	White	Female	99	2.00	.85	$t_{136} = 1.17^*$	.23
		Male	39	2.19	.82		
		Female	99	1.97	1.08	$t_{136} = .57$	.02
		Male	39	1.99	.85		
		Female	99	2.02	.99	$t_{136} = 1.89$	.36
		Male	39	2.38	1.07		
Age	13-18	Female	54	2.26	.89	$t_{97} = 2.46^*$	.50
		Male	45	2.72	.95		
		Female	54	1.91	.92	$t_{97} = 1.33$	.27
		Male	45	2.18	1.09		
		Female	54	2.61	1.13	$t_{97} = 2.79^*$	.57
		Male	45	3.26	1.18		
	19-25	Female	95	2.25	.95	$t_{148} = 1.35$	.22
		Male	55	2.45	.80		
		Female	95	1.97	1.01	$t_{148} = .30$	.05
		Male	55	2.02	1.00		
		Female	95	2.52	1.19	$t_{148} = 1.90$	.31
		Male	55	2.88	.93		
	>25	Female	108	2.11	.91	$t_{173} = .04$	.00
		Male	67	2.11	.98		
		Female	108	1.66	1.02	$t_{173} = .24$	.03
		Male	67	1.69	.84		
		Female	108	2.55	1.42	$t_{173} = .11$	.01
		Male	67	2.53	1.50		

Appendix B-12: (continued)

Category		Gender	N	M	SD	t-Statistic	d
Education	Tertiary	Female	138	2.04	.89	$t_{196} = .93$	.14
		Male	60	2.17	.91		
		Female	138	1.80	.94	$t_{196} = 1.08$	.17
		Male	60	1.96	1.00		
		Female	138	2.28	1.19	$t_{196} = .54$	.09
		Male	60	2.38	1.13		
	No tertiary	Female	44	2.21	.88	$t_{87} = 1.03$	.22
		Male	45	2.41	.97		
		Female	44	1.64	1.30	$t_{87} = .47$	.11
		Male	45	1.76	.85		
		Female	44	2.77	1.31	$t_{87} = .96$	.21
		Male	45	3.06	1.49		

* = $p < .01$; ** = $p < .01$;

N = sample size; M = mean; SD = standard deviation, d = effect size

Average effect size: d = .21 for males higher than females; d = .26 for females higher than males

Appendix B-13: Differences in SDO, OEQ and GBD scores between participants with and without tertiary education for various subgroups.

Category		Education	N	M	SD	t-Statistic	d
Language	English	SDO ₆ Tertiary	199	2.08	.89	$t_{286} = 1.97^*$	.25
		No tertiary	89	2.31	.93		
		OEQ Tertiary	199	1.85	.96	$t_{286} = 1.16$	.15
		No tertiary	89	1.70	1.09		
		GBD Tertiary	199	2.31	1.17	$t_{286} = 3.79^{**}$	.49
		No tertiary	89	2.92	1.40		
	Afrikaans	SDO ₆ Tertiary	44	2.00	.83	$t_{56} = 2.41^*$	.75
		No tertiary	14	2.61	.76		
		OEQ Tertiary	44	1.67	.94	$t_{56} = 1.05$	.32
		No tertiary	14	2.00	1.32		
		GBD Tertiary	44	2.34	1.36	$t_{56} = 2.07^*$	.63
		No tertiary	14	3.21	1.43		
	Xhosa	SDO ₆ Tertiary	10	3.00	.99	$t_{14.96} = 1.95$	.90
		No tertiary	9	2.28	.59		
		OEQ Tertiary	10	2.19	.96	$t_{17} = 1.51$	.71
		No tertiary	9	1.63	.60		
		GBD Tertiary	10	3.83	1.20	$t_{17} = 1.69$	.78
		No tertiary	9	2.94	1.08		
Gender	Male	SDO ₆ Tertiary	68	2.19	.93	$t_{118} = 1.26$	.23
		No tertiary	52	2.40	.91		
		OEQ Tertiary	68	1.93	.98	$t_{118} = 1.05$	.20
		No tertiary	52	1.75	.82		
		GBD Tertiary	68	2.44	1.20	$t_{118} = 2.51^*$	.46
		No tertiary	52	3.04	1.42		
	Female	SDO ₆ Tertiary	184	2.08	.89	$t_{242} = 1.69$	.25
		No tertiary	60	2.30	.86		
		OEQ Tertiary	184	1.80	.95	$t_{242} = .51$	.08
		No tertiary	60	1.72	1.28		
		GBD Tertiary	184	2.35	1.26	$t_{242} = 2.77^{**}$	.41
		No tertiary	60	2.88	1.34		

Appendix B-13: (continued)

Category		Education	N	M	SD	t-Statistic	d
Race	Black	Tertiary	51	2.84	1.03	$t_{92.35} = 1.82$	.36
		No tertiary	44	2.50	.82		
		Tertiary	51	2.20	1.23	$t_{78.86} = 2.76^{**}$	.57
		No tertiary	44	1.65	.67		
		Tertiary	51	3.48	1.23	$t_{93} = .53$	.11
		No tertiary	44	3.34	1.34		
	Coloured	Tertiary	84	1.84	.70	$t_{127} = 2.42^{*}$	.45
		No tertiary	45	2.18	.86		
		Tertiary	84	1.49	.63	$t_{127} = .82$	.16
		No tertiary	45	1.61	1.04		
		Tertiary	84	2.18	1.11	$t_{127} = 2.56^{*}$	.48
		No tertiary	45	2.74	1.29		
Age	White	Tertiary	118	1.98	.81	$t_{27.45} = 1.81$	.48
		No tertiary	23	2.39	1.03		
		Tertiary	118	1.91	.95	$t_{24.84} = .60$	.21
		No tertiary	23	2.13	1.67		
		Tertiary	118	2.04	1.05	$t_{26.49} = 1.85$	.54
		No tertiary	23	2.64	1.48		
	19-25	Tertiary	112	2.32	.92	$t_{48.8} = 1.24$	.22
		No tertiary	25	2.13	.64		
		Tertiary	112	2.09	1.02	$t_{42.4} = 2.92^{**}$	.57
		No tertiary	25	1.53	.82		
		Tertiary	112	2.56	1.13	$t_{48.28} = .91$	.16
		No tertiary	25	2.73	.79		
	>25	Tertiary	132	1.93	.84	$t_{216} = 4.07^{**}$	.56
		No tertiary	86	2.42	.93		
		Tertiary	132	1.62	.85	$t_{216} = 1.31$	.19
		No tertiary	86	1.80	1.15		
		Tertiary	132	2.23	1.31	$t_{216} = 4.22^{**}$	.58
		No tertiary	86	3.04	1.50		

* = $p < .01$; ** = $p < .01$;

N = sample size; M = mean; SD = standard deviation; d = effect size

Average effect size: d = .40 for without tertiary education higher than with tertiary education; d = .42 for with tertiary education higher than without tertiary education

Appendix B-14: Differences in SDO, OEQ and GBD scores between participants with and without tertiary education for various subgroups (English questionnaires only).

Category		Education	N	M	SD	t-Statistic	d
Gender	Male	SDO ₆ Tertiary	60	2.17	.91	t ₁₀₃ = 1.29	.26
		No tertiary	45	2.41	.97		
		OEQ Tertiary	60	1.96	1.00	t ₁₀₃ = 1.10	.21
		No tertiary	45	1.76	.85		
		GBD Tertiary	60	2.38	1.13	t ₁₀₃ = 2.64*	.53
		No tertiary	45	3.06	1.49		
	Female	SDO ₆ Tertiary	138	2.04	.89	t ₁₈₀ = 1.07	.19
		No tertiary	44	2.21	.88		
		OEQ Tertiary	138	1.80	.94	t ₁₈₀ = .87	.16
		No tertiary	44	1.64	1.30		
		GBD Tertiary	138	2.28	1.19	t ₁₈₀ = 2.20*	.40
		No tertiary	44	2.77	1.31		
Race	Black	SDO ₆ Tertiary	41	2.80	1.05	t ₇₄ = 1.12	.26
		No tertiary	35	2.55	.86		
		OEQ Tertiary	41	2.18	1.30	t _{62.28} = 2.16*	.51
		No tertiary	35	1.66	.68		
		GBD Tertiary	41	3.40	1.21	t ₇₄ = .12	.03
		No tertiary	35	3.44	1.39		
	Coloured	SDO ₆ Tertiary	56	1.75	.60	t _{63.28} = 2.58*	.58
		No tertiary	40	2.17	.90		
		OEQ Tertiary	56	1.49	.62	t ₉₄ = .72	.15
		No tertiary	40	1.61	1.08		
		GBD Tertiary	56	2.01	.93	t ₉₄ = 2.92**	.65
		No tertiary	40	2.73	1.34		
	White	SDO ₆ Tertiary	102	1.98	.80	t _{27.45} = 1.81	.17
		No tertiary	14	2.12	1.08		
		OEQ Tertiary	102	1.91	.89	t _{24.84} = .60	.16
		No tertiary	14	2.07	1.77		
		GBD Tertiary	102	2.04	1.01	t _{26.49} = 1.85	.11
		No tertiary	14	2.15	1.12		

Appendix B-14: (continued)

Category		Education	N	M	SD	t-Statistic	d
Age -----	19-25	Tertiary	99	2.27	.91	$t_{121} = .75$	.17
		No tertiary	24	2.12	.65		
	OEQ	Tertiary	99	2.09	1.03	$t_{121} = 2.60$	.60
		No tertiary	24	1.50	.81		
	GBD	Tertiary	99	2.44	1.03	$t_{43.19} = 1.35$	.30
		No tertiary	24	2.74	.81		
	SDO ₆	Tertiary	91	1.89	.83	$t_{119.30} = 3.34^{**}$	.57
		No tertiary	64	2.40	1.00		
	>25	Tertiary	91	1.60	.80	$t_{153} = 1.18$	.20
		No tertiary	64	1.79	1.18		
	GBD	Tertiary	91	2.17	1.29	$t_{153} = 3.60^{**}$	.59
		No tertiary	64	3.00	1.56		

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$;

N = sample size; M = mean; SD = standard deviation, d = effect size

average effect size: d = .34 for without tertiary education higher than with tertiary education; d = .26 for with tertiary education higher than without tertiary education

Appendix C

- Study 2 -

Appendix C-1: Debriefing sent via email to participants of Study 3

Dear participant

Thanks very much again for assisting me with the "Coping Style Study".

With this email I would like to inform you about the actual purpose of the experiment.

Quite a few of you commented on the fact that not all questions in the study were related to coping abilities. Others assumed that the study seemed to be about prejudice/discrimination instead of being about coping abilities. This is correct.

The study looked at language-based discrimination, not at racism, like some participants assumed.

The problem with research related to any form of prejudice is that when asked directly people usually answer that they are not biased. Whereas for some people this is true, for others it does not reflect their real opinion, but allows them to be politically correct. That is why researchers often employ more subtle ways when studying prejudice in order to get a more realistic picture. One way of doing so is by pretending to actually investigate a different phenomenon. To say that the study looked at coping styles thus simply served to distract from its actual purpose.

There are various psychological theories that attempt to explain why people are prejudiced. In my research I compare the assumptions of two such theories. In a nutshell, one of them, called Social Dominance Theory, assumes that discrimination is a personality characteristic that is expressed in the wish for hierarchy among groups. It is called social dominance orientation. It is rather stable and is even considered to be evolutionary adaptive. In order to assess how much social dominance orientation a person possesses, social dominance theorists have developed a questionnaire scale. This is the scale that you received on the initial form that you had to complete and also at the end of the computer part of the study. The second theory, Social Identity Theory, assumes that people discriminate if the situation is "right". That is the very same person might discriminate in one situation, but not in another.

The experiment tested the assumptions of both theories.

With the initial questionnaire I assessed your level of social dominance orientation.

The computer part of the experiment consisted of different parts:

1. Information about Mc Clark's theory

I created eight different versions of "Mc Clark's" theory about the relationship between language and coping abilities. This theory does not exist. I invented it for this experiment. Each one of you was presented with one version of the theory at the beginning of the computer program. You were told that Mc Clark either assumes English speakers or Afrikaans speakers to be the better copers, that Mc Clark's assumption seemed to be either legitimate or illegitimate and that the differences between English and Afrikaans speakers in coping abilities were either regarded as stable or as instable. The remainder of the program was the same for each participant.

2. Scenario

You were first asked to write an answer to a potentially stressful scenario. These answers will not be analysed, as they solely served to render the study's alleged purpose more believable.

3. Rating of scenario answers

After this your task was to rate the coping ability of some English and Afrikaans people by rating their answers to the scenario. Before conducting this experiment I established that all the answers were in fact of the same quality.

If either the Afrikaans or the English answers were rated as more favourably by the participants in this experiment, it therefore means that bias is shown towards either Afrikaans or English speakers. As you yourself

belonged to the group of English speakers it was expected that you would favour the English over the Afrikaans answers. The extent of this favouritism should be dependent on the version on Mc Clark's theory that had been presented to you in the beginning.

4. Characteristics of Afrikaans and English people

You were then asked to rate English and Afrikaans people in general. Some of you mentioned at the end of the study that it is not possible to objectively judge the "intelligence" etc. of Afrikaans and English people in general. Characteristics like these are obviously not determined by the language a person speaks. Given this, it means that if someone rates English or Afrikaans people more positively than the other language group he/she shows discrimination.

5. Social dominance orientation

Eventually, you had to answer the social dominance questions once again. If social dominance orientation is indeed a personality characteristic it should not have changed from the first to the second administration of the questionnaire, no matter what information you have received in between.

I have not yet conducted a thorough analysis of the data. What the first, very preliminary analyses show is that

- a) the social dominance orientation scores are very similar at the first and the second administration, which might let assume that it is a rather stable characteristic
- b) the version of Mc Clark's theory that you received did not influence how much bias was shown This might let assume that the context is not that important in whether people discriminate.

Please be aware that these two conclusions are still very tentative as they are based on the first broad analyses. The analyses need to be extended far more before, before real conclusions can be drawn.

This experiment is one of three studies that form the basis for my PhD dissertation. The research I am conducting is fundamental research. That means that it is very theoretical, but with the potential for important practical implications. My results will be helpful in shedding light on what causes people to be prejudiced. This again can be used in order to establish how programs determined at terminating prejudice need to be developed in order to be effective.

Please feel free to email me if you have questions that have not been answered in this email. Please also let me know if you have any additional concerns.

Kind regards

Ines Meyer

Appendix C-2: Order of Afrikaans and English essays

Essay pair 1:*Participant 63:*

I would find out if the book is for sale and try to purchase it, spending an all-nighter with it. Or find out if one of my friends has it and pull an all-nighter with it... at their place. Or try and find out who took the last book out, try and contact them and see if something can be worked out.

Participant 14:¹

Ek sou van my vriende, wat besig is met dieselfde eksamen, bel om uit te vind of hulle die boek het en of ek na ulle toe kan gaan om saam met hulle te swot. As niemand hierdie boek het nie, sou ek probeer seker maak dat ek die eerste boek baie goed ken.

Essay pair 2:*Participant 18:*

Ek sou baie seker maak dat ek die kursushoud vanuit die boek een baie goed ken. Ek sou 80% van my tyd spandeer om hieroor te gaan. Ek sou 20% spandeer om enige ander inligting in alternatiewe bronne, verwante boeke, die internet, ens. op te soek.

Participant 47:

What I would do is to go to a friend and see if she could help me in any way. It may be that she is busy with the one that I have and she can give me the second one for the time being or we could study together. If not I would concentrate on the one I have.

Essay pair 3:*Participant 14:*

Ek sou van my vriende, wat besig is met dieselfde eksamen, bel om uit te vind of hulle die boek het en of ek na ulle toe kan gaan om saam met hulle te swot. As niemand hierdie boek het nie, sou ek probeer seker maak dat ek die eerste boek baie goed ken.

Participant 78:

I would look for other sources with similar information. If I cannot find it, I would concentrate on the stuff that I already know, or borrow and copy notes from somebody who had been attending lectures.

Essay pair 4:*Participant 78:*

I would look for other sources with similar information. If I cannot find it, I would concentrate on the stuff that I already know, or borrow and copy notes from somebody who had been attending lectures.

Participant 18:

Ek sou baie seker maak dat ek die kursushoud vanuit die boek een baie goed ken. Ek sou 80% van my tyd spandeer om hieroor te gaan. Ek sou 20% spandeer om enige ander inligting in alternatiewe bronne, verwante boeke, die internet, ens. op te soek.

Essay pair 5:*Participant 47:*

What I would do is to go to a friend and see if she could help me in any way. It may be that she is busy with the one that I have and she can give me the second one for the time being or we could study together. If not I would concentrate on the one I have.

Participant 12:

Ek het baie hard geswot en kan niks aan die situasie doen nie; daarom gaan dit nie rêrig help om paniekbevange te raak nie. Ek sou 'n vriend bel om te hoor of enige van hulle 'n boek het en – indien wel – vra dat hulle my help.

Essay pair 6:*Participant 12:*

Ek het baie hard geswot en kan niks aan die situasie doen nie; daarom gaan dit nie rêrig help om paniekbevange te raak nie. Ek sou 'n vriend bel om te hoor of enige van hulle 'n boek het en – indien wel – vra dat hulle my help.

Participant 63:

I would find out if the book is for sale and try to purchase it, spending an all-nighter with it. Or find out if one of my friends has it and pull an all-nighter with it... at their place. Or try and find out who took the last book out, try and contact them and see if something can be worked out.

¹ Translations of the Afrikaans responses are given in Appendix C-4

Participant 14 = response 6 in Appendix C-4

Participant 18 = response 9 in Appendix C-4

Participant 12 = response 1 in Appendix C-4

Appendix C-3: Pre-Study to determine equivalence of essays

The essays that were presented had been chosen from the scenario answers of 110 students that had participated in a pre-study conducted in January 2003. All but one of these answers had been written in English. Of these 110 essays, 11 English answers of approximately equal length and describing two to three different approaches to deal with the situation were selected. Two questionnaires were compiled from these 11 essays, one consisting of answers one to six, the other of answers six to eleven (see Appendix C-4). Approximately a week after the first pre-study, the two questionnaire forms were randomly administered to the same students, with each student being asked to complete one of them. In each questionnaire, 13 sets of answer pairs were presented. For each pair, participants were forced to decide which of the two answers they thought indicated better coping abilities. In order to determine the six most similar essays, the percentage of participants preferring the one essay over the other was determined (see Appendix C-5). The six essays whose mean average preference was the closest to 50% were included in the final study (see Appendix C-6). Three of these were translated into Afrikaans (answers 1, 6 and 9).

Appendix C-4: Questionnaires used to choose the six final essays used

Coping Style Study

- Pre-study: January 2003 -

Last week I asked you to imagine the following scenario and to write a few sentences about how you would react in that situation.

You have studied really hard for a university exam, as you need to get at least 60% in order to pass this compulsory course. The afternoon before the exam you find out that the exam covers the contents of two books. You have only looked at one of them. As you have hardly attended any lectures your lecture notes are of not much help. You rush to the library to get the second book, but it has already been taken out by someone else.

I selected a few of your answers for this second part of the pre-study. This time, I will present you with the responses of two participants at a time. Your task is to indicate which of the two persons *you think* dealt better with the situation. In some cases you will probably find it difficult to decide as the responses might be very similar. It is important though that you always indicate a preference (i.e. always tick one box and one box only). Thanks a lot for your help!

1. Since I've studied really hard and the fact that I can't do anything about the situation, it will be of little use to panic. I would phone up a friend in order to find out if any of them have a book and if they do ask them to help me.

2. I would find somebody that is writing the same exam and look at past papers, see what's important and then I would borrow the appropriate notes or "essay topics" and spot study the second book.

Who do you think deals better with the situation (please tick)?

Person 1 ☐

Person 2 ☐

3. I would phone friends to see if they have the book. If not I would phone all the various local libraries to see if they have the book. If that fails I would try to look for a book with similar contents.

4. I would go to my friends and ask them to help me by lending me the book and try to discuss the contents of the second book with them. I would try my best to absorb the material and understand the contents of the second book and go and write my exam.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 3 ☐

Person 4 ☐

5. What I would do is to go to a friend and see if she could help me in any way: It may be that she is busy with the one that I have and she can give me the second one for the time being or we could study together. If not I would concentrate on the one I have.

6. I would phone friends of mine who are doing the same exam, trying to find out if they have the book and if I could come over and study with them. If nobody has this book I would attempt to make sure that I know the first book very well.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 5 ☐

Person 6 ☐

1. Since I've studied really hard and the fact that I can't do anything about the situation, it will be of little use to panic. I would phone up a friend in order to find out if any of them have a book and if they do ask them to help me.

4. I would go to my friends and ask them to help me by lending me the book and try to discuss the contents of the second book with them. I would try my best to absorb the material and understand the contents of the second book and go and write my exam.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 1 ☐

Person 4 ☐

2. I would find somebody that is writing the same exam and look at past papers, see what's important and then I would borrow the appropriate notes or "essay topics" and spot study the second book.

6. I would phone friends of mine who are doing the same exam, trying to find out if they have the book and if I could come over and study with them. If nobody has this book I would attempt to make sure that I know the first book very well.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 2 ☐

Person 6 ☐

3. I would phone friends to see if they have the book. If not I would phone all the various local libraries to see if they have the book. If that fails I would try to look for a book with similar contents.

5. What I would do is to go to a friend and see if she could help me in any way: It may be that she is busy with the one that I have and she can give me the second one for the time being or we could study together. If not I would concentrate on the one I have.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 3 ☐

Person 5 ☐

4. I would go to my friends and ask them to help me by lending me the book and try to discuss the contents of the second book with them. I would try my best to absorb the material and understand the contents of the second book and go and write my exam.

6. I would phone friends of mine who are doing the same exam, trying to find out if they have the book and if I could come over and study with them. If nobody has this book I would attempt to make sure that I know the first book very well.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 4 ☐

Person 6 ☐

1. Since I've studied really hard and the fact that I can't do anything about the situation, it will be of little use to panic. I would phone up a friend in order to find out if any of them have a book and if they do ask them to help me.

5. What I would do is to go to a friend and see if she could help me in any way: It may be that she is busy with the one that I have and she can give me the second one for the time being or we could study together. If not I would concentrate on the one I have.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 1 ☐

Person 5 ☐

→ PTO

2. I would find somebody that is writing the same exam and look at past papers, see what's important and then I would borrow the appropriate notes or "essay topics" and spot study the second book.

3. I would phone friends to see if they have the book. If not I would phone all the various local libraries to see if they have the book. If that fails I would try to look for a book with similar contents.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 2 ☐

Person 3 ☐

4. I would go to my friends and ask them to help me by lending me the book and try to discuss the contents of the second book with them. I would try my best to absorb the material and understand the contents of the second book and go and write my exam.

5. What I would do is to go to a friend and see if she could help me in any way: It may be that she is busy with the one that I have and she can give me the second one for the time being or we could study together. If not I would concentrate on the one I have.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 4 ☐

Person 5 ☐

3. I would phone friends to see if they have the book. If not I would phone all the various local libraries to see if they have the book. If that fails I would try to look for a book with similar contents.

6. I would phone friends of mine who are doing the same exam, trying to find out if they have the book and if I could come over and study with them. If nobody has this book I would attempt to make sure that I know the first book very well.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 3 ☐

Person 6 ☐

2. I would find somebody that is writing the same exam and look at past papers, see what's important and then I would borrow the appropriate notes or "essay topics" and spot study the second book.

4. I would go to my friends and ask them to help me by lending me the book and try to discuss the contents of the second book with them. I would try my best to absorb the material and understand the contents of the second book and go and write my exam.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 2 ☐

Person 4 ☐

1. Since I've studied really hard and the fact that I can't do anything about the situation, it will be of little use to panic. I would phone up a friend in order to find out if any of them have a book and if they do ask them to help me.

6. I would phone friends of mine who are doing the same exam, trying to find out if they have the book and if I could come over and study with them. If nobody has this book I would attempt to make sure that I know the first book very well.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 1 ☐

Person 6 ☐

Coping Style Study

- Pre-study: January 2003 -

Last week I asked you to imagine the following scenario and to write a few sentences about how you would react in that situation.

You have studied really hard for a university exam, as you need to get at least 60% in order to pass this compulsory course. The afternoon before the exam you find out that the exam covers the contents of two books. You have only looked at one of them. As you have hardly attended any lectures your lecture notes are of not much help. You rush to the library to get the second book, but it has already been taken out by someone else.

I selected a few of your answers for this second part of the pre-study. This time, I will present you with the responses of two participants at a time. Your task is to indicate which of the two persons *you think* dealt better with the situation. In some cases you will probably find it difficult to decide as the responses might be very similar. It is important though that you always indicate a preference (i.e. always tick one box and one box only). Thanks a lot for your help!

6. I would phone friends of mine who are doing the same exam, trying to find out if they have the book and if I could come over and study with them. If nobody has this book I would attempt to make sure that I know the first book very well.

7. I would rush off and try and find the book from a friend. If no luck, will go back to the library and try again. I would continue to search, but after a while would give up and ask a friend to give me a brief overview of what the book represented.

Who do you think deals better with the situation (please tick)?

Person 6 ☐

Person 7 ☐

8. I would find out if the book is for sale and try to purchase it, spending an all-nighter with it. Or find out if one of my friends has it and try and pull an all-nighter with it... at their place. Or try and find out who took the last book out, try and contact them and see if something can be worked out.

9. I would make very sure I know the course content extracted from the book one very well. I would spend 80% of time on going over this. I would spend 20% looking for any other info in alternative sources, related books – internet etc.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 8 ☐

Person 9 ☐

10. I would call a friend doing the same subject and see if she/he has lecture notes on the 2nd book. I would then photostat the notes and at least read the notes/book once. Since I have studied the first book really well, I should have a chance of getting 60%. It is worth a try!

11. I would look for other sources with similar information. If I cannot find it, I would concentrate on the stuff that I already know, or borrow and copy notes from somebody who had been attending lectures.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 10 ☐

Person 11 ☐

6. I would phone friends of mine who are doing the same exam, trying to find out if they have the book and if I could come over and study with them. If nobody has this book I would attempt to make sure that I know the first book very well.

9. I would make very sure I know the course content extracted from the book one very well. I would spend 80% of time on going over this. I would spend 20% looking for any other info in alternative sources, related books – internet etc.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 6 ☐

Person 9 ☐

8. I would find out if the book is for sale and try to purchase it, spending an all-nighter with it. Or find out if one of my friends has it and try and pull an all-nighter with it... at their place. Or try and find out who took the last book out, try and contact them and see if something can be worked out.

10. I would call a friend doing the same subject and see if she/he has lecture notes on the 2nd book. I would then photostat the notes and at least read the notes/book once. Since I have studied the first book really well, I should have a chance of getting 60%. It is worth a try!

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 8 ☐

Person 10 ☐

7. I would rush off and try and find the book from a friend. If no luck, will go back to the library and try again. I would continue to search, but after a while would give up and ask a friend to give me a brief overview of what the book represented.

11. I would look for other sources with similar information. If I cannot find it, I would concentrate on the stuff that I already know, or borrow and copy notes from somebody who had been attending lectures.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 7 ☐

Person 11 ☐

6. I would phone friends of mine who are doing the same exam, trying to find out if they have the book and if I could come over and study with them. If nobody has this book I would attempt to make sure that I know the first book very well.

8. I would find out if the book is for sale and try to purchase it, spending an all-nighter with it. Or find out if one of my friends has it and try and pull an all-nighter with it... at their place. Or try and find out who took the last book out, try and contact them and see if something can be worked out.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 6 ☐

Person 8 ☐

7. I would rush off and try and find the book from a friend. If no luck, will go back to the library and try again. I would continue to search, but after a while would give up and ask a friend to give me a brief overview of what the book represented.

10. I would call a friend doing the same subject and see if she/he has lecture notes on the 2nd book. I would then photostat the notes and at least read the notes/book once. Since I have studied the first book really well, I should have a chance of getting 60%. It is worth a try!

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 7 ☐

Person 10 ☐

→ PTO

6. I would phone friends of mine who are doing the same exam, trying to find out if they have the book and if I could come over and study with them. If nobody has this book I would attempt to make sure that I know the first book very well.

11. I would look for other sources with similar information. If I cannot find it, I would concentrate on the stuff that I already know, or borrow and copy notes from somebody who had been attending lectures.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 6 ☐

Person 11 ☐

7. I would rush off and try and find the book from a friend. If no luck, will go back to the library and try again. I would continue to search, but after a while would give up and ask a friend to give me a brief overview of what the book represented.

8. I would find out if the book is for sale and try to purchase it, spending an all-nighter with it. Or find out if one of my friends has it and try and pull an all-nighter with it... at their place. Or try and find out who took the last book out, try and contact them and see if something can be worked out.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 7 ☐

Person 8 ☐

9. I would make very sure I know the course content extracted from the book one very well. I would spend 80% of time on going over this. I would spend 20% looking for any other info in alternative sources, related books – internet etc.

10. I would call a friend doing the same subject and see if she/he has lecture notes on the 2nd book. I would then photostat the notes and at least read the notes/book once. Since I have studied the first book really well, I should have a chance of getting 60%. It is worth a try!

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 9 ☐

Person 10 ☐

8. I would find out if the book is for sale and try to purchase it, spending an all-nighter with it. Or find out if one of my friends has it and try and pull an all-nighter with it... at their place. Or try and find out who took the last book out, try and contact them and see if something can be worked out.

11. I would look for other sources with similar information. If I cannot find it, I would concentrate on the stuff that I already know, or borrow and copy notes from somebody who had been attending lectures.

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 8 ☐

Person 11 ☐

6. I would phone friends of mine who are doing the same exam, trying to find out if they have the book and if I could come over and study with them. If nobody has this book I would attempt to make sure that I know the first book very well.

10. I would call a friend doing the same subject and see if she/he has lecture notes on the 2nd book. I would then photostat the notes and at least read the notes/book once. Since I have studied the first book really well, I should have a chance of getting 60%. It is worth a try!

Who do you think deals better with the situation?

Person 6 ☐

Person 10 ☐

Appendix C-5: Percentage of participants who preferred row over column
(answer numbers refer to answer numbers in Appendix D-2)

Answer No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Mean %
1		32		25	33	41	36.2
2	68		86	57		64	65
3		15		12	21	28	25.2
4	75	44	88		59	68	64
5	67		79	41		37	54.8
6	59	36	73	32	64		52.3
Answer No.	6	7	8	9	10	11	Mean %
6		65	66	51	25	40	49.5
7	35		53		13	25	35.2
8	34	47		36	16	38	34.2
9	49		64		19		45.5
10	75	88	84	81		81	76.5
11	40	75	62		19		49.2

Appendix C-6: Percentage of participants preferring row over column for most similar items as determined in Appendix D-3
(answer numbers refer to answer numbers in Appendix D-2)

Appendix D-2)

Answer No.	1	5	6		Mean
1		33	41		41.3
5	67		37		51.3
6	59	64			57.7

Answer No.	6	7	9	11	Mean
6		65	51	40	65
7	35			25	36.7
9	49				49.5
11	60	75			61.7

Appendix C-7: Factor loadings for items of the SDO₆ scale (initial questionnaire)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	.359	.234	.000	.543	-.253
2. It would be good if groups could be equal.	.447	.584	-.050	.205	.416
3. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.	.484	-.262	.380	.192	.268
4. Group equality should be our ideal.	.564	.588	-.034	-.120	.233
5. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.	.567	-.112	.313	-.321	-.276
6. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.	.440	.437	.057	-.235	-.108
7. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	.551	-.196	.391	.249	.133
8. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.	.537	.191	-.264	-.442	-.070
9. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.	.590	-.455	-.233	-.190	.131
10. Increased social equality.	.766	-.019	-.018	.067	-.048
11. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.	.580	-.261	.116	.011	.163
12. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.	.649	.007	-.344	.286	-.258
13. Inferior groups should stay in their place.	.564	-.193	-.442	.267	-.211
14. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.	.640	-.054	.009	-.185	-.345
15. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	.550	-.269	-.222	-.134	.480
16. No one group should dominate in society.	.425	.114	.596	-.038	-.189

Appendix C-8: Corrected item-total correlations for the SDO₆ scale (initial questionnaire)

	SDO
1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	.382
2. It would be good if groups could be equal.	.389
3. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.	.248
4. Group equality should be our ideal.	.513
5. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.	.419
6. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.	.278
7. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	.402
8. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.	.522
9. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.	.441
10. Increased social equality.	.554
11. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.	.537
12. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.	.504
13. Inferior groups should stay in their place.	.478
14. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.	.511
15. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	.481
16. No one group should dominate in society.	.389

Appendix C-9: Results for 8 (condition) x 2 (SDO level) ANOVA testing for differences in pre-SDO scores

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Condition	.848	7	.121	.41	.899	.016
SDO level	89.907	1	89.907	300.41	.000	.631
Condition x SDO level	.944	7	.135	.45	.869	.018
Error	52.673	176	.299			
Total	1123.691	192				

Post hoc test: high SDO (2.95) > low SDO (1.58); $p < .01$

Appendix C-10: Corrected item-total correlations for essay ratings

1. Participant 63 vs. Participant 14	.235
2. Participant 18 vs. Participant 47	.086
3. Participant 14 vs. Participant 78	.058
4. Participant 78 vs. Participant 18	.206
5. Participant 47 vs. Participant 12	.191
6. Participant 12 vs. Participant 63	.290

Appendix C-11: Factor loadings for allocation matrices 1, 4, 5 and 6

	Factor 1	Factor 2
1. Participant 63 vs. Participant 14	.715	.252
4. Participant 78 vs. Participant 18	.391	.775
5. Participant 47 vs. Participant 12	.547	-.536
6. Participant 12 vs. Participant 63	.746	-.255

Appendix C-12: Item-total correlations for allocation matrices 1, 4, 5 and 6

1. Participant 63 vs. Participant 14	.333
4. Participant 78 vs. Participant 18	.136
5. Participant 47 vs. Participant 12	.215
6. Participant 12 vs. Participant 63	.340

**Appendix C-13: Factor loadings for trait evaluations
(varimax rotated)**

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
intelligent		-.060	.545
competent		.051	.065
clumsy		-.268	.098
honest	.008		-.031
modest	-.124		.212
rude	.152		.368
self-confident		-.057	-.460
effective		.383	.030
tolerant	-.071		.534
slow		.027	.358
selfish	.001		.018
aggressive	.091	.008	.750

Appendix C-14: Item-total correlations for trait evaluations

Competence items

intelligent	.353
competent	.917
clumsy	.439
self-confident	.381
efficient	.403
slow	.502

Morality items

honest	.410
modest	.470
rude	.497
tolerant	.348
selfish	.429
aggressive	.231

Appendix C-15: Factor loadings for items of the SDO₆ scale (experiment)

	Factor 1	Factor 2
1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	.542	.347
2. It would be good if groups could be equal.	.575	-.434
3. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.	.459	.375
4. Group equality should be our ideal.	.751	-.423
5. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.	.555	.062
6. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.	.526	-.260
7. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	.630	.220
8. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.	.699	-.364
9. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.	.474	.491
10. Increased social equality.	.688	-.111
11. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.	.751	.109
12. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.	.583	-.173
13. Inferior groups should stay in their place.	.638	.383
14. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.	.622	-.240
15. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	.639	.480
16. No one group should dominate in society.	.502	-.227

Appendix C-16: Corrected item-total correlations for the SDO scale (experiment)

	SDO
1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	.471
2. It would be good if groups could be equal.	.480
3. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.	.406
4. Group equality should be our ideal.	.670
5. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.	.481
6. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.	.450
7. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	.576
8. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.	.618
9. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.	.398
10. Increased social equality.	.618
11. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.	.692
12. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.	.491
13. Inferior groups should stay in their place.	.568
14. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.	.545
15. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	.563
16. No one group should dominate in society.	.432

Appendix C-17: Participants' answers to the final check items

Item 1: What do you think this study was about?

Subject no.	Answer
001	Proving the guys statement is not true for checking the abilities of people. this is because peoples abilities to do things are generated by their imaginations, and we think (mostly) using pictures. So a persons spoken language should not influence his/her ability to cope with stress,. The only language based thing that I can think of that will influence stress, is the person's fluency or ability to understand the language.
007	The study was about the abilty of people who speak more profound languages to cope better with stressful situations than others.
008	It concerns the ability of different languages groups and their ability to deal with stressful situations. It is derived from the statement made by Grant Mc C(some-one) .
009	I thought it was about how people from different cultural backgrounds related to similar situations in different ways.
011	The study was about bringing unity in a society where there is no piece and hamorny, and trying to make sure that all participants understand their role in society, of working together towards development.
020	Prejudice between English and Afrikaans speaking people, and how they perceive themselves and each other.
021	The use of language as an articulation mechanism for our problems and the way in which these types of coping styles reflect on the way we handle stress in our lives.
023	To see whether the language you speak affects your ability to cope with stressful situations.
027	Perceived and actual differences between groups in society and how language affects the way the different groups behave.
028	The impact of languages on our thinking and behaviour. Also, how some may perceive others different to them and how this fits into South Africa as we are very diverse concerning culture, race and religion.
029	it concerned the coping skills of different language groups relative to each other, as well as group preception of outgroups regarding their abilities and coping skills.
033	Definately not about language and how it effects your stress level. It was about the study into the human mind to see whether or not One class of society should have more preference over another. Also it looked at how some people view other people.
034	English-Afrikaans relations
035	Comparing the coping skills of English and Afrikaans people, and perhaps seeing whether we judge people when we have preconceptions about them (?).
039	I think that the main idea of the study was to test a thoery constructed by some psychologist and to see whether people who speak english do cope better with stress than people who peak Afrikaans.
043	coping skills in stressful situations of eng vs afr students. how biased are we to our racial group. are we still racist.
049	The study was about the different ways in which English and Afrikaans speaking people cope with different situations. Also whether the language with the most words to describe emotional feelings is the better language because these people might have better coping machanisms than that of others.
052	Extent to which language affects/determines coping skills.
053	It was about testing the hypothesis that certain people, depending on their languages, cope better in certain situations.
061	Deciding whether language affects being able to cope with stress better.
062	it was about language and whether it had an effect on your ability ro cope with stress.
063	The study was about how different language groups, English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking, cope with stressful situations. It was based on the hypothesis that because English has more words to describe emotions, English-speaking people cope better with stress.
066	The interaction between language and the ability a person has to cope with a given situation, depending on what language they speak

- 079 The study was about founding out if the Hypoteses that depending on the language you speak you adapt differently to stressful situations. The richer the language the better you deal with stress.
- 094 The study was about trying to prove that ability to cope with stress is somehow related to language spoken by an iindividual.
- 095 About the different manners in which people manage stressful situations according to the language that they speak.
- 096 Language assessment
- 106 Which language group - English of Afrikaans- could cope better with stressfl situations.
- 110 I think the study claimed to be about the differences between English and Afrikaans speakers in their coping style and ability, but it appears to me to be far more focussed on bias, prejudice, discrimination and opinions.
- 117 Trying to find if different language groups coped better with stress. however i think it was about cultural differences and they way in which people perceive power status
- 118 An investigation into whether ones monther tongue impares on ones ability to cope with stress
- 119 I think the study was about racism and what students think about this subject and their opinions. i don't think it was about stress-coping, I think that was just a cover to try and get more accurate results. As people would probably be less willing to do a study about racism as it has been forced down our throats for ever.
- 120 This study was about determining the degree to which language plays a role in coping with stress.
- 124 you wnat to know if i believe that my language group copes better than another, or more speifically do i feel my language English makes me better at something (coping styles in this case) than someone who is afrikaans speaking, if and this is a big if, you give me a reason that i should be better (that i have more emotion in my language than afrikaans does). or perhaps also will something you tell me about my self in relation to other people from a different from that of myself, affect my actions towrds my group and their groups, whether or not what you told was true. what is the effect of propaganda.
- 127 I think it was about whether we feel that either Afrikaans speaking or English speaking nation is more dominant or competant.
- 131 The study was to determine whether English or Afrikaans people can cope better in stressful situations.
- 133 To see whether an "emotionally rich" language speaker was better able to cope in stressful situations than someone from a lesser "emotionally rich" speaking language
- 135 To see whether one's language (English or Afikaans) is a factor in dealing with stressful situations; to inquire if one of theselanguages is the better one when coping with a stressful situation.
- 137 To see whether people who speak an emotionally richer language were able to cope with stress better than people who spoke an emotionally poorer language. To specifically determine whether Afrikaans speaking people coped with stress better than their English speaking counterparts, since Afrikaans is considered a more emotionally rich language than English.
- 138 Stress vs. Social prejudice or possibly language vs. social prejudice
- 141 about equality between different social groups
- 143 The study was about whether the language you speak has an influence on the way you deal and cope with difficult and "stressful" situations.
- 148 It was about language groups
- 149 It was about seeing how different language groups cope in a stressful situation and seeing whether one language group is more equipped to cope with difficult situations than others.
- 154 It was a study into which language groups are able to cope better in stressful situations than others. And how mambers of each language group feel about the claims.
- 155 To determine different groups' responses to stressful situations.
- 158 How the language you speak can possibly dictate how well you can handle stress.
- 160 To establish how well people from different language groups are able to cope with stressful situations and how they react to these situations.
- 164 groups of people
- 165 Seeing if a person's home language has an effect on their abilty to cope with stress.
- 168 I must be honest in that I am not quite sure. I do not see the link between the questions asked and the hypothesis presented at the start of the study. Perhaps one is trying to determine the feelings between the

Afrikaans and English people groups - what are the prejudices, anomalousities, biases, ect. More than that I can not say.

- 173 Perceptions of different language groups of their own and other strengths and weakness. And how different language groups approach problems.
- 182 The study was about how different language groups deal with stressful situations. If McClark's hypothesis is correct, then some groups of people who speak a language featuring a poor vocabulary should deal with stress in an inferior way to those who speak a language with a richer vocabulary.
- 183 The begging of the study was about the difference in stress management between english and afrikaans speaking people. Towards the end I think the study was about discovering what the different social groups (ie. the group the user belongs to) think about the rest of society as a whole.
- 188 The effectiveness of ones ability to cope with stressfull situations based on their language.
- 189 how the different cultural and language groups deal with stress and what outlook they have towards other people in different groups.
- 198 Finding out how the emotional richness, ie the amount of words in a language expressing emotions, affected they way in which people cope. Also how people percieve other groups of people in relation to themselves.
- 199 It was clearly to establish whether or not we as students feel that one language group is more important than another, and also whether or not different language speakers cope better in certain situations. It also seems to have tried to establish whether we believe in domination by minority groups. Clearly this something all South Africans have been witness to and would be against.
- 206 About how different cultural groups deal with highly stressful situations, and also, how these different cultures view each other. It tries to find out how different we are, and also how different we think we are; and whether or not the two correlate.
- 211 It was to find out whether or not Afrikaners cope better with stress than English speaking people.
- 212 I think the study was examining to what degree English and Afrikaans speakers would react to different situations and different questions. In a country like South Africa where the white population can usually be divided into english and afrikaans speakers; it would be interesting to see how the different groups would react to the problems mentioned, especially in light of our recent history. I think this questionnaire was working on two levels, one being the whole stress dealing situation, and two being a study of how, at this stage, people still feel about the racial situation and division in S. Africa. It should be fascinating to view how english and afrikaans speakers opinions differ with regards to our countries set up.
- 218 Whether english speaking people are superior to afrikaans speaking people in dealing with everyday problems. As well as where certain race groups stand in the hierarchy of society.
- 227 coping styles of different languages, prejudiced beliefs regarding English and Afrikaans speaking people how the intersection of the two above-mentioned perspectives form a sociological cohesion that feeds these very theories.
- 237 I think the study is about finding out wether Enlish speaking students will deliberately going against Afrikaans people and try and prove that English people are better at coping with stress.
- 240 It was about how well people cope in stressfull situations and if a certain language had an effect on the ability to cpoe.
- 241 The way different language groups seem to have different behavioural patterns, particularly in the ways in which they deal with stress.
- 243 about giving both english and afrikaans speaking sutdents and equal chance
- 244 The first bit of the test was about the ability of a certain language speaking person to cope with stress, to see whether the guys hypothesis is correct. But I was unsure about the part of the test where certain characteristics of English and Afrikaans speaking people were rated. Because I am English K cannot really give an accurate description of an Afrikaans person. All people are different, some English speakers have completely different characters than others, no answer is correct, it is too much of a generalisation.
- 245 The study was about researching whether the language you spoke affected your ability to cope with stress.
- 246 whether our strength of language determines whether we can cope better or worse in a stressful situation
- 253 The study was to come to a conclusion regarding Mc Clark's theory and to test to see if it was true.
- 254 The study was to determine whether or not the language one spoke gave you a better chance at coping with stress.
- 255 I think that this study tried evaluate whether english speaking students cope better with stress than afrikaans

speaking students.

- 256 How the language you speak affects your ability to deal with stressful situations. Depending on whether it is "rich" or "poor" in terms of the choice of words you have to describe emotions.
- 258 The study was to examine the relationship between the ability to cope with stress with regard to the language spoken by the individual.
- 260 The study was to identify how the two different language groups deal with stress and what their attitudes toward each other are.
- 262 it was about how english and afrikaans speakers look at different situations and to see the feelings of the different speakers in relation to racism and prejudice.
- 264 About whether english speakers can cope better with stressful situations than afrikaans and attitudes to social groups and equality amongst them.
- 266 Testing the stress and coping strategies and effectiveness of different language groups in order to compare the mental stress levels and consider whether there is truth that your language could improve or challenge your stressors in life.
- 268 Studying equality based on groups
- 277 Racism
- 278 to determine wether the hypothesis of Mc Clark ,that emotionally strong languages were better copers of stressors,was correct.
- 279 how different cultures can react differently to situations in the society. which cultures are taught to be more prepared to different scenarios in life.
- 280 Through expressing yourself you are better able to deal with stressful situations and because Afrikaans speakers have a more descriptive vocabulary they are more able to express themselves and seem to deal with stressful situations better than English speakers.
- 281 People and their ability to cope and express themselves and how that ties in with culture and since language is part of a culture.
- 282 about how we see the differences between english and afrikaans speaking people
- 283 Seeing if there is a relationship between coping skill and language and if people who speak emotionally richer languages are better at coping with stress.
- 286 I think the study was tp determine which language groups could cope better in stressful situations and about the different groups with regards to postions in society.
- 287 I think it was about what influences people's different styles of coping and whether or not it has to do with language or social groups or there perception of status.
- 289 Equality and difference between different language groups.
- 290 Seeing whether or not language has the ability to help us cope with stress
- 291 to research opinions on how different people assess stressful situations and their outcomes and to obtain opinions on whether society should be grouped /barriers should exist in terms of advantaged/disadvantaged communities
- 292 all to do with how people percive other people with different languages are seen as byv others. also if people believe that race is such an important issue today
- 293 whether or not "richness" of a language is related to coping with stress, in this case do afrikaans speaking people cope much better than English speaking people - as afrikaans is a "richer" language
- 294 It was said to be about coping skills but it seems more to be about cultural and ethnic status and equality or lack thereof.
- 297 I think the study wanted to test our perceptions of other people based on a language/racial stereotype.
- 298 Possible discrimination between the 2 language groups. How these 2 groups cope with stressful situations. How people feel about equality and other groups of people.
- 299 hmm...id say it was about the racial differences prevalent in our society & societies attitudes towards these differences. basically GENERALISATION & STEREO-TYPING. because we associate certian groups with certain languages & hav based our opinion on our feelings towards those groups.
- 300 The study tried to determine to what extent a difference in languages affects people's ability to cope with stress and daily life
- 302 I think the study was about the stereotypes that english people have about afrikaans people and how they

- cope with stress and vice versa.
- 306 It is about whether the language you speak greatly influences your ability to cope in stressful situations.
- 308 The study is whether one language group copes better with a stressful situation than another.
- 309 identifying the extent to which English speaking individuals cope better in stressful situations compared to other individuals who don't speak English.
- 310 Whether language has an effect on coping with stress.
- 311 To get a more accurate answer/understanding or conclusion to the questions asked. To get more of the public's opinion to see whether they think their language group will cope more easily in stressful situations and to see, in their opinion where different groups of society stand.
- 314 it was about different cultures and how they are related to each other in society, and how people in modern days deal with, and think about different cultures
- 327 determining whether certain languages give speaking them better abilities to cope with stress situations
- 328 Coping mechanisms amongst different groups
- 329 I believe that the study attempted to find out whether one language has a more proficient way of expression. It tried to prove that the Afrikaans language could provide one with a larger vocabulary in order to express one's feelings better.
- 331 PEOPLES PERCEPTIONS OF OTHER PEOPLE
- 336 Not to sure
- 342 finding general opinions on the positions or opinions of certain groups towards other groups.
- 356 People's viewpoints on dealing with stress and also their views on equality.
- 360 whether or not one's language and perhaps one's language proficiency influences both coping mechanisms and tolerance levels. and also how people of different language backgrounds confront and deal with stressful situations.
- 361 There were 2 aspects. Initially the study proclaimed to be about testing Mc Clark's hypothesis as to language being a significant factor in differentiating the way people cope with stress. The study compared the English answers to Afrikaans answers for the same stressful situation, and a ranking was required in order to compare which of the 2 dealt with the situation the best. The questions then moved on to the topic of equality.
- 362 Seeing how different language groups would cope under different stressful situations, does language make a difference?
- 363 The study was carried out to investigate whether people with emotionally strong languages (eg. English) were better at coping with stressful situations than people with lesser emotional languages (eg. Afrikaans) using the case of the unavailable textbook as a measure.
- 366 How different language groups perceive how their own copes versus the other
- 368 To what extent English and Afrikaans people differ in their dealings with stress and in their behaviour patterns and tendencies.
- 369 Well, I think the study was not about language but about people's perceptions of their language and cultural group.
- 370 whether Afrikaans or English speaking people coped better in stressful situations.
- 371 What the connection is between languages and stress as well as languages and feelings about social equality. i.e. Do English people have more of an inclination towards social equality than Afrikaans people do, or vice versa?
- 372 Perceptions and particularly the perceptions that society places on us as these largely determine what views we grow up believing and become an intrinsic part of our subconscious.
- 373 The coping skills of those who have a 'different' internal home language to others, thus meaning that their internal dialogues are less expressive than those who have words allocated to various emotional states. There also seemed to be an understanding of how various groups view each other, not in a racial slant but more in so far as they fit into a wider society.
- 376 It wanted to test the belief that "more emotional" language led to individuals who are more emotional and thus better at dealing with stress.
- 378 equality, race, prejudice and indirectly ranking qualities based on language grouping
- 379 How members of a particular group viewed others in that group and those from different groups.

- 387 To show whether English people cope with studies better than afrikaans people. TO prove a theory that some languages are more superior than others!
- 388 determinig whether different language groups cope better under stressful conditions
- 391 Testing the hypothesis between english and afrikaans people, whether the one group is perceived at being able to cope with stress better than the other group.
- 392 how different language groups cope with stress but i think its true aim was to see the racial bias different groups have.
- 393 Determining whether the stress in our lives has any direct link to the language we speak
- 395 to test the hypothesis that people who speak a 'emotionally rich' language are more capable to handle stress than those who speak an 'emotionally poor' language
- 397 How well english speaking people cope with stress compared to how well afrikaans speaking people cope with stress.
- 398 I think the study was trying to determine whether Afrikaans speakers have an advantage over English speakers in terms of coping with stressful situations.
- 399 In determing whether english and afrikaans speaking people can cope better with stress. Also to see if trends in society has chnged over time.
- 400 About testing the hypothesis that speakers of a more emotive language can better cope in stressful situations. The study examines English and Afrikaans students and expects to not find a significant difference. The study appears to also examine the opinions of the testee with regard to certain elements of prejudice towards other social groups.
- 401 Checking to see which language groups had a better ability in coping with stressful situations. the second and third sections were to evaluate my perceptions on both my own and the other language group as well as to see my position on the social standing of various language and population groups in society.
- 402 The study was about whether language plays an important role in coping with studying.
- 403 if language affects the eway we cope in stressfull situations.
- 404 The differences of how different language groups cope with stress apparently. But maybe it is about how English speakers think they are superior to afrikaaners and vice versa by the way we answered.
- 406 Initially I thought it was about the connection between coping abilities and language, but I started feeling that the study was maybe about stereotypes and prejudices towards other language groups who are often portrayed in one way and whether I had subscribed to these ideas - even though they are actually ridiculous.
- 407 differentiating between groups of people and seeing if those differences effect a) their way of thinking and b) how effective their language/way of thinking is
- 408 Finding out whether a person language has any influence on their ability to cope with stressful situations
- 409 Social and perceptual transformation in the new SA
- 410 How one's language background affects one's ability to cope with stressful situations
- 411 I think that the stidy was about examinig whether speaking a certain language was a risk factor or a protective factor in stressful situations
- 412 how language relates to coping skills....those with 'better' language abilities can cope more efficiently than those with more basic language skills the study was also about attitudes towards this (above) hypothesis; whether people doing the study agree that a group can be inferior to another simply because of language and coping skills
- 413 The study was about how different language groups cope with stress in their lives. It also depends on how language rich a certain language is as to how the speakers cope with stress.
- 414 Comparing the coping mechanisms of different language groups to see if there is a correlation between emotionally rich languages and higher coping mechanisms And to see where you came from in terms of background using social justice as the departure point.
- 415 It tries to assess whether people who speak a certain language cope with stress better those who speak another language
- 416 Determining whether there is a relationship between different language groups (people who speak different languages, Afrikaans and English to be precise) and their ability to cope with stress, due to the language being emotionaly rich or poor.
- 418 to test if the language you spoke determined how well you coped with a situation & how we interpreted the

- evidence before us. Also if we believed the stereotype that was set out before the study began or if we stuck to our own opinions & experiences
- 419 Looking at the differences between Afrikaans speaking people and English speaking people in coping with stress, and their attitudes towards other groups of people
- 420 Testing the influence of language on people's ability to cope with stress, possibly to help psychological analysis
- 424 The ability of people speaking different languages to cope with stressful situations. Also, people's attitudes to other language-speaking groups.
- 425 the study was about finding out if the language you speak affects your coping ability with stress
- 427 coping with stress? forming a clear dichotomy? or manufacturing that flag seen advertised during the world cup series: we are all one under this african sky.
- 430 It was about the barriers to equality that languages can create and whether the barriers are substantial.
- 431 The study tried to point out the stereotypes associated with members of the two language groups. The study is also tried to prove that because of mass media members of differing language groups have equal coping skills and that the ability to cope is not solely determined by language.
- 432 Seeing whether there is in fact a difference in the way in which Englishspeakers and Afrikaans speakers handle stress. Also possibly the way we perceive different groups in our society; based on the language, which we speak.
- 434 The language you speak is usually a good indicator as to which race you belong to. thus this study was probably more about the abilities of different races or cultural groups to deal with stress than to see the differences between the different language speakers abilities to deal with stress. it was also not only about stress but more about people's opinions on others and how honest people can be in their assessments of others.
- 435 The determination of whether languages effect the coping skills of the people who speak them.
- 436 about how people cope with stress, considering their language, and the racial issues that differ between people of different colour, language and age
- 439 It feels as though it was about prejudice against members of another language group, disguised as a study in how people of different language groups cope with stress. The reason I think this is because if you merely wanted an opinion of how I rate different people's ability to cope with stress, the language I speak wouldn't have been important!!
- 440 i think it was about how the upbringing of afrikaans and english people effects their ability to handle the stresses of living and their consequent outlook on life.
- 441 it appeared to determine whether there would be a difference in the way english and afrikaans speakers would approach the same situation
- 442 About testing whether people of different languages, cultures and groups (incl. social standing, income) are to be considered equal or not by the participants. To also test if people of one language are considered inferior by the other language (in a variety of manners)- in this case English and Afrikaans people.
- 443 Comparing Afrikaans and English speakers to determine whether language spoken has an effect on ability to cope with stress
- 446 To find out if the language you speak has any relation to the way in which you are able to cope with stressful situations.
- 449 Whether a particular language group (which is considered to be rich language) can cope better with stress compared to another language group which is not as rich.
- 450 How different cultural back grounds deal with stressful situations.
- 453 I think that the study was about finding the relationship between your first language and how you cope with stress. Trying to discover whether there is a positive relationship between the two. Also, it seemed to have something to do with how your particular language choice influenced your view of society and your tolerance and understanding etc of others.
- 454 At first I thought it was about the way english people feel about afrikaans people and that many english people view the Afrikaans people as inferior possibly due to misunderstandings over the years but also due to the previous decisions made mostly by the Afrikaans people in this country. The way that the subject was opened in the beginning of the test led me to believe the theory about the emotive languages and in some ways it may make sense that a society with a more emotive language would have a culture that could identify those emotions and learn how to recognize and deal with them. I still believe though that it was a study on

the view of english people of the Afrikaans.

- 459 to test the coping skills of students of different languages in stressful situations
- 461 To test an hypothesis that people with a more emotive language would cope better in stressful situations.
- 463 Social and cultural diversity in South Africa and evaluating the ability between people of different languages to cope with stress.
- 464 I get the first part about testing that guy's hypothesis, although I do not think there is enough justification to believe that the relative emotional richness of a language influences the style of coping of individuals. I didn't get how the equality vs inequality/oppression in society questionnaire relates to coping styles????
- 466 The first written survey made me think it had something to do with racism. Now it's more about how language affects levels of intellect and social skills
- 467 It's about discovering whether english speaking people deal with stress better than afrikaans speaking people
- 469 Stress, and how different people handle stressful situations depending on their different languages.
- 470 It wanted to determine whether I thought that language had an effect on the way people handle situations
- 475 The study was testing where the language you spoke influenced the amount of coping skills you had.
- 476 It was trying to prove/disprove the theory that people that speak 'richer languages' such as afrikaans, cope better in stressful situations
- 478 the study was in fact not about the various stress levels and how to cope with it. It seems that it was about various responses depending on your colour and whether or not various races have the same ideals.
- 479 Testing whether a 'richer' language helps you cope with stress better. Also questioning ideas about Afrikaans and english speakers.
- 481 While we were told that the study was about language in relation to coping with stress it seemed that the study was actually about perceptions about people who speak different languages, namely what English speakers think about Afrikaners and their stereotypes
- 482 The study of coping with stressful situations and how one's language enables them to deal with these situations. Assumably the more emotional languages equip those speakers better to dealing with stress.
- 484 The study was testing to see how different language groups cope with stress. I also felt that it tested our perceptions on equality among different races
- 485 To investigate whether different language groups are able to cope better with stressful situations than other groups.

Item 2: Was there anything odd or unusual about the study?

Subject no.	Answer
007	There was no clear explanation of the term 'group'. This could mean many different things.
008	Yes, the questions asked seemed to have a racial connotation, and the study was on language groups not racial groups and their language.
009	It was strange having to answer questions about how we felt about different groups in society
020	Not considering the above, it is expected that we would be misled, for the integrity of the actual study.
021	The appendix-style section at the end regarding social and economic concerns which were not really relevant to a study devoted more towards subtle differences between languages and the dynamics surrounding them.
027	I think to try to make any sort of objective conclusion based on South African society is quite unusual as our country has a very unique history of relations between groups and different racial groups (and sometimes thus language groups) have been separated and classified and stereotyped to a much greater degree than you would find elsewhere in the world.
029	the questions relating in particular to the characteristics of various language groups
033	I like the way that you use the same statements in the beginning to "ease our guard" Then after we have focussed on language as a means to cope, you introduce group equity & equalities. I must say that distinguishing so heavily between afrikaans and english speaking people is only a mask for your study into the way one class of people perceives another. I must say that being a BCOM Honours in Accounting Student, I do believe that certain individuals should take preference over others. But this should be based on the nature of financial intelligence and not race, gender or other perceived inequalities. I do believe that the Rich should dominate society. Viva Le Capitalism!!!
034	If it is about stress, then why ask all the questions on equality

- 035 There were a lot of generalisations.
- 043 the last questions seemed very racially based, but were not specific to race or any particular races, i.e. afrikaans vs English we are taught at varsity not to be biased to one view, and not to be judgemental without looking at a specific situation carefully. i do think that some groups are better than others, but definately not based on race in any way. since your questionare seems racially based, but the questions don't refer to race, i would hold in doubt any conclusions drawn from this survey because some people would answer the questions in a racially biased way, while others may not see a racial basis in some of the questions, and hence not answer with the racial bias they nevertheless hold.
- 053 Well, personally i dont really feel that language plays an important role in coping ability, thus i find it strange that the study only concentrated ion that factor.
- 062 The main emphasis was on language however the were lots of ques with regards to racial issues ie diversity
- 063 I don't think there was anything unusual about the study, but I did find it difficult to evaluate the different language groups in terms of honesty, modesty, rudeness, etc.
- 066 It was quite repetitive. A lot of the questions seemed to be about the same sort of thing with only minor differences between them.
- 079 I find the Hypoteses strange and what was unusual is that the questions asked at the end were the same questions that had been asked ion the papper we filled out. So it was unessary to answer them again.
- 094 What I found odd was that as I went along with the study I found myself disagree more and more with the hypothesis.
- 095 Yes, since we are all South Africans and we all come through the same schooling, wouldn't it mean that we are taught the same coping methods as our Afrikaans friends?
- 096 Repetition of questions from the written survey was not expected
- 106 Yes - it was unclear in what language the exam was being given and which language the textbooks were printed in. I would think this has an impact on how the students reacted. If tthe medium was in the student's language then I would somehow think they would react better. But this was not included, so I'm not sure what to think.
- 110 There were many questions concerning equity and inferiority, which I do not personally associate with coping style. Also, if this was about coping style, then it is only about OPINION's of coping styles and definitely not which group is more effective (too many extraneous variables).
- I don't like many of the questions which talk about equity - I believe in equity, but NOT when it is at the expense of diversity, something which I find to be all too common in this day and age. It is commonly believed that equity means "bringing people UP to the same level", rather than recognising the diversity of talents which different groups represent, and the different morals and traits which are of importance to them.
- I would like to also comment that if this theory was a true one, I had not ever considered coping style in relation to emotional expression, but it definitely sounds like a plausible theory that warrants further study. I personally think the fact that English and Afrikaans South Africans very often have a pretty good vocabulary from both languages (at least when it comes to emotional expression) should balance a lot of the alleged differences in vocabulary. Lastly, I found the Afrikaans comments to be far more concise and constructive - they seemed to generally be far more decisive with regards to a course of action, and also seem to have understood the initial question far more thoroughly.
- 117 every person has different experiences of Afrikaans & English people - how can we really rate the entire group's traits on thos we know.
- 118 Yes. the latter portions of the questions were largely referred to euality, and not direct stress.
- 119 There was, in that there were all the stress questions and then suddenly we were thrown into social group questions, which seemed to have a minor relation. Although inferences could be made by how people answered and how they conveyed their attitudes in answering the first questions.
- 120 It focused a lot on race
- 124 repitive questions
- 127 Yeah, it started of with a study that has already been proven. Is there a need to do it again. It started off with language and ended with whether or not we thought that social equality is a future goal. Somethingsmelt fishy.
- 131 The last questions were very confusing, and i started to feel that they were just the same questions being asked in a different way each time.

- 133 I seemed to think that overall, the Afrikaans speakers dealt with their problems better than the English speakers (in the comparison section)
- 137 Nothing really except for the fact that the questions originally handed out seemed more to have to do with group prejudice than coping with stress. Maybe that was just because different languages indicate different groups of people.
- 138 For a study about stress and language, there were a lot of questions about social beliefs. The questions about your view point on society were ambiguous in their meaning.
 IE. When talking about equality, do you refer to the communist or social definition of equality? The reference to people having an equal chance in life, was that to do with a chance of life, or everyone starting with the same education and background, possibly it was a materialistic approach you were referring to, i.e. people getting a set amount when they "come of age", there are a number of ways to interpret those questions and I would answer differently to each example. And when I "strongly disagree" with any statement with the words "inferior group", am I disagreeing with the statement or am I disagreeing with the fact that groups can be labeled "inferior" for whatever reason? Inferior in what? Social standing? Monetary value? Happiness? Stress coping ability? Are farmers inferior to highly paid lawyers who work 100 hours a week?
- 141 the only thing that caught my attention was the fact that the second part of the study (i.e. the computer part) repeated the section of questions we did in the first part which was done some time ago. I think this was done to check whether the answers were similar or not and therefore reliable or not.
- 143 The possibility of your language affecting the way you deal with situations is interesting.
- 154 This is the first time I have had to respond to this type of claim/situation.
- 160 Why would people with different languages handle situations differently? I would probably need scientific proof for this hypothesis. We are all human and if we were educated to the same level, we would probably handle stress in the same way.
- 164 yes that a huge generalisation was put on the Afrikaans and English groups
- 165 The way in which questions were asked.
- 168 Answering questions that seem totally arbitrary and unrelated will always seem a little odd. Perhaps if I truly understood what the study was about, I would understand the purpose of the questions better.
- 173 The repetition of some questions.
- 182 The end of the study (which was in written form at the beginning of the study, before the computer part) concerning one's views on "groups" of people was very vague. The questions seemed to pit socialism and capitalism against each other, which isn't very consistent with the study. For example, should one group of people dominate society? My question is: What kind of group? Groups by race, language, education, nationality, or what? Just because I believe it is inevitable for one group of people to rise above another, it doesn't mean that I believe my group of people will be the one to do that (if that is what you were getting at, it may not have been). How does the question about equal incomes have anything to do with language differences? Relating to the study, I think English and Afrikaans people should be given an equal "shot" at succeeding, but that doesn't mean I advocate equal incomes (i.e. socialism). I just didn't see the connection.
- 188 the initial questionnaire did not specify in which context it was referring to groups. It was therefore more difficult to answer.
- 189 the questions were repeated but just slightly changed.
- 198 The statement "Increased social equality" seemed strange as it was not given in context to anything.
- 199 I was quite surprised as to why the question of minority group domination was raised, particularly at an institution such as this in South Africa. We have all experienced the inefficiencies and terrible effects of such a system and would, I hope, be all against it. Naturally your study may have found those that favour the apartheid regime and it would be interesting to see such statistics.
- 206 I felt that the study was perhaps a bit too short to form a concrete idea of what the participant thinks. When you are given so few examples, you tend to be swayed by your own personal interpretation and emotional response to some of the wording.
- 211 It was interesting to see how both language groups chose to try and get the info from other sources, be it a friends book or notes or the internet. Also that only one person in the examples mentioned an all-nighter, which to me is the more drastic measure. I was also interested to see how people were either going to divide their time or just make sure they knew one book.
- 212 In the second section, I thought that several questions were more or less the same, just phrased differently.

- 218 The manners in which the participants dealt with the problem were too similar to give a rational answer.
- 227 yes. use of subversive tactics to pinpoint prejudice. there was more being assessed than was stated. is that legal?
- 240 It was odd to know that a language had an effect on coping abilities.
- 241 It didn't include any of the Black-African languages or any Afrikaans people who seemed to handle stress well (and vica versa-an English person who was hopeless at handling stress)
- 244 As above, the second part of the study was unusual in the context of this particular study, what does modesty have to do with stress???
- 245 Many of the last questions were asking the same thing just in a different way.
- 254 Some of the questions asked were not questions that I would have asked or rather the manner in which the questions were asked somehow did not allow me to express myself clearly as they were very general questions.
- 255 to me the study also appeared to measure the extent to which there are prejudice amongst the two language groups.
- 256 Towards the end it referred largely to inferiority of social groups and we all stand in society. I don't understand the relevance except for the language we speak.
- 260 It was odd to have to criticise other groups and think about differences in their personalities when so much emphasis is placed on equality these days.
- 262 yes, the whole study was not entirely about how one copes with situations, it went on to ones personal thoughts on situations in sa
- 264 A different way of looking at people - language as a coping mechanism
- 266 I had never considered that such a theory existed, as it could be considered prejudice and against the political correctness we are striving for.
- 277 it sort of seems to me like the study was actually about racism or prejudice and was deliberately disguised as something else: a coping study.
- 278 the fact that we had to give our opinion on how intelligent, rude, slow etc. people are just because they're in the same language group, because it has very little (i think) to do with coping ability.
- 280 I wouldn't assume that your spoken language had much to do with the way you deal with stress. The differences between English and Afrikaans speakers became very clear and this an unusual concept that I wouldn't usually observe.
- 281 Not really. It was all a matter of personal influence
- 282 the questions were asked in a order so that we couldn't compare our answers between english and afrikaans speaking people we had to answer off the top of our heads
- 287 The last section containing questions about groups shifted the focus to social groups rather than to language groups. or so it seemed.
- 293 from the responses i read, the afrikaans people were thinking more practical and logical in terms of dealing with the situation at hand than the English speaking people, although i would say my response was highly similar to the afrikaans speakers and yet i speak english as a first language
- 294 The questions were very uncompromising with little consideration for other external factors which may influence peoples reactions in a stressful situation and factors such as social norms and stereotypes which may influence our beliefs - historical factors.
- 297 Most of the questions had the same meaning so the person filling in answers (me) found myself contradicting statements i had made previously... this study does not seem to be conclusive because it is based on the perceptions of random people.
- 298 There were lots of questions about equality where the study stated that it was about coping styles between different groups.
- 299 not really i found it very interesting & if im correct about assuming the basis of this study, then i would say that its actually pretty ingenious! i find the psychological undertones interesting & rather fascinating!
- 302 I would have liked to have seen some evidence, statistics at least, as to the claim that english people cope better with stress. the outline was very broad and contained quite a few generalizations
- 306 Yes in that I can't see how one language group could be any more aggressive /intelligent/honest etc than the other as it depends on the individual and not the language they speak. Also questions such as should all

groups be equal - yes they should however, it is because each of these groups are different that the world is a far moer interesting place. If everyone is the same then there would be know advancement as everyone would only be equally intelligent and therefore could only come up with exact same thing not better more improved things.

- 308 No. The questions that were asked were reasonable.
- 310 It was supposedly about coping with stress, yet at the end there were questions on my opions on racial equality. Maybe the coping with stress part was just a ruse.
- 327 questions about inferiority was not relevant??
- 328 It was odd in that because the Afrikaans speakers could expressed themselves better it sounded as if they coped better, but words and actions are distinct from each other
- 329 No, I suppose it is a good theory to test, I do however believe that language cannot affect the means in way in which you deal with stress.
- 331 THE QUESTIONS DID NOT SEEM ENTIRELY RELEVANT TO THE SUPPOSED TOPIC
- 336 It only dealt with English and Afrikaans speaking people
- 342 not more than any other studies
- 356 Yes, many questions were repeated, and some were translated into another language and repeated.
- 360 there was a lot of repetition to do with questions about equality and one's beliefs to do with that subject. i can sort of see how this would relate to coping mechanisms but the study's focus seemed to almost mutate to that rather than focussing on coping strategies.
- 361 Yes, the sudden change from the language comparisons to the equality based questions.
- 362 Most of the answers that we needed to compare responses against were very similar, people who answered the questionnaire would always say that the person who's response was most like their own would handle the situation better, a bit bais
- 366 it asked for very definite answers to very generalised situations.
- 369 YES!All the freakin' generalisations which were at the end. How is one supposed to generlise on the characteristics of an entire population group.
- 371 The jump from the stress questions to the social equaility questions.
- 372 Just issues of equality and the issue relating to whether certain groups should be kept in their places.
- 373 No, the questions were well thought out, the order was well done and and there was a common purpose to the larger majority of the questioning, from a layout perspective it may have been easier if one need not click from page to page to answer, however this may be a programming constraint.
- 376 It wanted to know a lot about what we thought of other groups, and how we see their role in society.
- 378 using language to get to the real issue at hand- equality and prejudice
- 379 It appeared as if it only related to coping under stress but the select-type questions focussed on MY view of other societal groups.
- 387 Nothing really odd. All topics which come up in discussion often! Have friends from both languages and there alwzys seems to be a bias against one another!! Maybe we are just from differnet gene pools!!! Hot topics of discussion though because they are all extremely debatable!!!
- 388 yes,the study doesnt take into account other factors that could influence the conclusion
- 391 The fact that perception is relevant in such a study. I would have thought that actual quantitative information such as number of hours an individual spent worrying instead of doing would be more helpful.
- 392 its objective was supposedly the coping of stress of different language groups but i think its hidden objective was how they cope with eachother and thier bias towards eacother
- 393 the gross generalisations made
- 395 It ignores the possibility of ethnic or race groups (particularly coloureds) who don't identify with either language as a first language as they are fluent in both.
- 397 No nothing odd. But something new for me to think about.
- 398 I wasn't sure how a person's perceptions of different groups ties in with comparing two languages stress management.
- 399 It is difficult to decide what is meant by the word group, because my answer will be different if we are speaking about ethnic groups, groups in the workplace and just basically the type of lifestyle and ethics the

- person in the group has.
- 400 - I felt certain questions were repeated in another way just to examine me for consistency - when I would rather have liked to justify why, with the change in wording, my change in choice. - The final questions on my opinion did not appear consistent with the hypothesis.
- 401 I was surprised to see the marked difference in strategies for coping with the scenarios listed in the study by the different language groups.
- 403 yes, it doesn't include other factors which must be considered
- 404 i found it odd in that it is a bit of a generalisation to say that English or Afrikaans people are better in ways than others, surely this study would have to be extremely large for this scientist to know this? It just seems a bit strange to me. Also being from an English speaking group, this test is a bit subjective, and surely everyone has their own opinion. It asked the same questions in the end bit, just in different ways and i couldn't remember what i put for the previous one that sounded the same!
- 406 I just got the feeling that this study isn't necessarily about what it said it was.
- 407 what will this really prove... ?
- 409 It put Afrikaans speakers above English speakers in stress coping according to language.
- 410 Inclusion of questions about inferiority and groups
- 411 the study seemed to consist of two entirely different parts, one relating to language and stress, the other relating to attitudes towards groups and socio-economic views. It seemed odd that the two were linked together
- 414 Not really, Except that the last few questions were positioned such that a person would alternate from agree to disagree in a non-random pattern
- 415 I actually find it odd to think that they would cope differently, I think coping ability rather depends on the conditions people grew up in instead of the language they speak.
- 416 No, just had never heard of such a thing before. It was actually odd to explain the meaning of the study BEFORE the survey. If I were conducting this survey, I would have put the explanation at the end in order to not influence the responses of the participants. Makes me wonder actually...
- 418 That the questions were repetitive
- 420 Questions were a bit vague, difficult to understand exactly how much information was wanted, or how to answer certain questions since they weren't specific enough
- 424 Some questions seemed to be repeated, as if trying to look for inconsistencies in answers. The agree-disagree statements were quite strange - since they were totally unqualified, it was difficult to give a reasonable opinion.
- 425 the study would be unusual if it was the source to gain participants as most of the students are English speaking, the test was also conducted in English, not giving regard to Afrikaans speaking people.
- 427 i thought the same questions were asked, but everytime from a different angle. so i wasn't sure in the end, if i answered one question, in three different ways
- 430 I did not realise that languages can create such a substantial barrier to warrant a study.
- 431 What I found odd about the study was the fact that the "stressful" situation described at the beginning of the study was related to exams.
- 432 The fact that our opinions about the segmentation of different groups in society was asked. It is indeed a contentious issue in our society, but it has minimal effect on the differences in which people handle stress, and thus i find it quite odd. It seems more like the different perceptions of our society, and the segmentation thereof, based on the language we speak.
- 434 the English and Afrikaans comparisons were the same just whether it was in English or Afrikaans was alternated. this was an attempt to see if the participant in the study would contradict themselves. contradictions would occur because a person might understand the one language better than the other, so even if the answers were the same the way it was expressed in words would determine which option the reader would choose. it checked language bias existed due to a clearer understanding of either English or Afrikaans.
- 435 No, except that I seem to have misunderstood the second last section where we are asked to give a rating between Afrikaans and English people. The heading was not large enough and I assumed that the second Afrikaans question had the same heading as the first English question so some of my answers may have been inconsistent due to a misunderstanding.

- 436 just that we have already answered the questions before, some of the questions well very alike to other ones, same answers come out, but when the questions are phrased differently the answers may sometimes change
- 439 The final set of questions
- 443 No it is a logical study that was efficiently carried out.
- 444 It was about studying how people cope in situations and how speaking a different language may affect this
- 446 I certainly was not expecting that such a study would actually need to be taken place and that there was ever such an hypothesis stated .
- 449 The questions on race, equality
- 450 The ammount of questions asked on the various positions of "groups" in society.
- 454 The questions asked at the end were the same as the questions on the paper questionairre we filled out. Why would the same questions be asked twice?
- 459 no, some of the questions are repeated but that just helps with the accuracy of the test
- 461 I wouldn't have thought your language would have anything to do with your ability to cope with a stressful situation. I thought it would rather have been your personality type
- 463 Yes. I'm not sure what the final aim will be or how objective it will be as it is probably based on the average opinion of an uneducated target group who have ben surveyed. Also I'm not sure what the last part ("Dou you agree certain groups are inferior to othere?") had to do with people's ability to cope with stress.
- 464 There is a difference, I believe, between equality and equal opportunity - while I believe that equal opportunity is vital for society to progress and create any kind of meaningful and valuable humanity and environment in the future; I believe that total equality of thought, belief system, culture, values, tradition, etc, is against human nature and would cause more problems than it would solve - this tyope of equality would dissolve individuality and autonomy, which would be very sad. This study should make the distinction between equal opportunity and equality very clear.
- 466 Yes, the possibility that people could actually cope differently depending on which language thaty speak.
- 467 not really, the only thing I found odd was that you compared languages to stress, I don't think a language could determine how well you handled anything. English is just more expressing but it takes the individuals character to determine how he/she deals with stuff.
- 469 Yes, language is clearly not the deciding factor as to how a single person deals with a stressful situation, there are numerous external factors that must be taken into account.
- 476 It is a perfectly reasonable study to do, it would be quite interesting if that was the case, that Afrikaans people cope better in stressful situations
- 478 If it was supposedly about the stress levels of different groups then why did they not concentrate on it more; instead the test seemed more about equality of different groups.
- 479 The many repeated questions. ANd the controversial statements about equality and different groups.
- 481 This study very cleverly contrasted english and Afrikaans, and the overal feeling was that there was not really a test for coping skills, but rather how one judgded what was given to them on the basis of language.
- 482 The questions about inferior groups. First I was asked whether some groups are inferior to others, then later the statement comes up whether I feel that inferior groups should be kept in their place. This is difficult to agree/disagree with if I felt that there is no such thing as inferior groups.
- 484 Yes, I was not quite sure why it tested our perceptions on equality, when it was suposed to determine which language groups cope better.
- 485 The questions about equality of social groups, etc, seem a little insignificant to the point of the study.

Item 3: Is there any aspect of the study about which you have questions or comments?

Subject no.	Answer
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- | | |
|-----|---|
| 007 | I am a English speaking coloured man who lives in a very Afrikaans/Afrikaans Slang (Kombuis Afrikaans) enviroment. There has been a negative effect from my peers in the way that I speak. I use lots of ebonics and cuss words although I cannot remember the last time I was ever stressed out. I have ,and always had, a hectic social and academic life and I never seemed to get stressed out. |
| 008 | 1. Has it been proven that Afrikaners are better able to cope with stress than English speakers? |
| 011 | Yes, The issue of saying groupoes should be different, I personally believe that there is no group that is inferior, I think It is just what individual believes. |

- 020 Have I won a prize? When do we find out? Oh, and it would be quite interesting to find out the final results, and see the completed study, if that's possible. Thanks, it's been interesting =o)
- 021 A very interesting topic but I felt that despite understanding the Afrikaans passages I was unable to pick up on the finer delicacies of what the Afrikaans participants were saying. I also felt that by having the general questions after the passages my comments were swayed by what reactions I saw in the 'participants'.
- 027 Using computers in such a study will result in a very particular type of opinion emerging which may need to be considered
- 028 I answered the questions based on where we are today and what is right or what would be the ideal situation. However, I do think that many that enforcing what is right is not always practical or best for everyone. Eg, sometimes groups should be kept apart from one another if they have an intense hatred for one another. It is not right or fair, but it will save many lives.
- 033 One of your statements alone is flawed with error. You have to look at the population as a whole before you can say that there are more English speaking clients admitted to psychiatric wards than Afrikaans ones. Firstly there would be more as there are more speaking people than Afrikaans in SA anyway. Therefore they represent a greater piece of the pie. You should however look at the proportion of mentally disturbed individuals. We all know that there are lots of characteristics behind a mentally disabled person which cannot be directly related to stress alone – such as nature and nurture – NOT LANGUAGE! But I must admit I found the study to be great mental stimulation. Sincerely Accounts Student
- 035 I found it difficult and uncomfortable to rate English and Afrikaans speakers on such generalised topics such as honesty, etc. There are so many different types of people, whatever language they speak. You can't generalise that all Afrikaans speakers are "slow", etc, or not. I also found that by knowing what the study was about from the beginning, your mind almost automatically finds that English speakers cope better, because you are told that that's what you're looking for.
- 053 I would definitely like to see the outcome!!! thank you for the opportunity to participate and GOOD LUCK with your study!!
- 063 I don't have any questions, but I think it's an interesting hypothesis and I'm interested to know the outcome of this study.
- 095 Please let me know what the outcome is.
- 117 why were some of the coping stories repeated? this study seems almost very vague & repetitive but leading me to conclude that i may just be missing the point (not that it is badly set out)- I am wondering what it really is about???
- 119 I would like to know if it was a study about racism or stress-coping styles
- 124 the theory has too many holes to hold up in real life situations, and chances are there is another variable or two or more not being taken account of.
- 127 Yes, you tell us what the study was really about if it was different to what was previously stated. Cool!
- 131 I actually think this sounds like an interesting theory and since I am a school teacher would be very interested to know what the outcome of this study is.
- 135 It would be great to hear the feedback about the hypothesis being investigated.
- 138 I just believe that you leave too much open to interpretation, unless I am completely wrong and you have defined social prejudice extremely well, or and this may be likely, that you are not measuring that at all.
- 143 The fact that only two languages were considered is quite a "grey area". What about the other languages? What about the multilingualists out there? I am bilingual. Would that affect the degree of how I cope under pressure if I had a very good command of both languages? What about the French language? Surely there it is highly emotional? Does that mean that the French cope easily? English also has different dialects and flexibility as opposed to Afrikaans since it is universal. Afrikaans is basically spoken amongst South Africans who understand each other. English has so many different cultures attached to it. How would we know exactly how to express our anxieties?
- 158 I look forward to seeing the results
- 160 I would just like to know what the overall result of the experiment is, to see if any conclusions can be made.
- 165 The rating system sometimes made it difficult to answer questions.
- 168 I'm interested to hear about the findings of the studies. What do Afrikaans people think about English people and visa versa? Commendation on the PC system you used to facilitate the questionnaire. It was well designed.
- 183 I must comment on the broadness of the study. A great deal of the questions at the end were so broad

- that I could have just about given any answer and had evidence to support it.
- 198 I think that it is important that the anonymity of this study is done so well, as the issues touched upon are highly topical.
- 199 Would you be suggesting that children be brought up as English speaking, although living in an Afrikaans home?
- 211 The questions are hard to answer because for example it is not always necessary to step on other groups but it does happen. Also each group of people does have their place in society and if everyone started trying to get involved in areas that were not part of their "expertise" we would have chaos. From that perspective I think that it is always difficult to answer questions on a scale because there are always other factors to consider.
- 212 I think that the initial overview about the project was slightly misleading. I also do not fully understand how having a greater vocabulary reduces your stress. We wrote down our response to the situations. The way in which we answered would be more likely to reflect our upbringing, past experiences and common sense, and that the language would be of minimal importance.
- 218 What is the real reason behind this questionnaire?
- 227 The last section, dealing with equality of different groups etc. Oftentimes I did not agree with the question's structure, but the options for it did not offer me the ability to refute that structure. I therefore had to answer a question I thought was unfair, and in doing so, offered statistical evidence that is not true. What do you think that says about the individual who posed the questions? Do you think his/her focus on popular prejudice is dominating his/her concentration on thorough statistical research? I'm not a psychology student, but I smell a rat! Thanks. It's been thought provoking. Please excuse my lack of punctuation; it's a rushed day and I have to do 101 things in an hour. (and the print is too small to see easily!)
- 237 I think that there might be people taking this test that don't understand Afrikaans and they might just have answered anything when comparing X and Y
- 240 What is the aim?
- 241 Why don't they compare test results as well - Cope with stress better should lead to better learning and better results (on average)
- 244 An explanation of why the second part was asked would be nice.
- 245 I am interested in what the outcome will be!
- 254 It will be interesting to see the outcome of the study because I believe that it does not make a difference how many words you have at your disposal, not many people are able to express themselves anyway.
- 258 I would have liked to have a comment my answer in some cases. Many of my answers were dependant on a number of factors that I did not have a chance to explain. Some of the racial prejudice questions needed to be explained more.
- 264 The double scale where you related the reaction of one participant to the other - when you put eg.(4,4) it could mean you think they both did equally terribly or equally brilliantly, thus the scale can be seen as ambiguous (unless I understood it incorrectly)
- 266 I think that the environment in which the person was in depends hugely on the result, if they are in a comfortable environment then it would make no difference, however if it were eg an Afrikaans student at UCT or a UCT student at Stellenbosch, the stress levels would obviously be increased as the student is out of his/her comfort zone and 'natural-language' environment.
- 278 why were the above mentioned questions used?
- 280 The impressions that I have of Afrikaans speakers are purely based on interaction with them from school sports. I went to an English speaking school and so my impression could possibly be biased because I don't know any Afrikaans speaking people on a personal level.
- 282 I don't think that you can ask things like are English or Afrikaans people more clumsy, etc. The other thing is that as English speaking Cape Townians there is very little time when we come into contact with Afrikaans speaking people in day to day life. Or enough contact to be able to compare things between them
- 283 When and where can we find out about the results of the study?
- 286 Yes....how did Mc Clark come to that conclusion that Afrikaans speakers cope better than English speakers????
- 287 it was extremely difficult to answer the questions about clumsiness, rudeness etc. without seeming or feeling prejudiced or biased.

- 289 I commend your effort! Respect!!
- 290 A great and interesting study which i learnt new things about
- 291 the last set of questions had been asked on the sheet handed out previously
- 293 no, but it would be interesting though to hear what you come up with. as a conclusion.
- 294 I don't believe this was a study on coping with stress and it irritates me that the experimenters were not honest, it raises ethical concerns in the acquisition of information and could be deemed useless.
- 297 It felt more like an opinion poll than a study
- 299 not really, but seeing as the □nvolved has already been asked, i would like to know what the study was actually about.
- 302 I must say, I do not completely agree with the statement that english speakers cope better under stressful situations, and the evidence put forward has not completely convinced me. Also - my answers as to the connection between personality traits and language were strongly influenced by my experiences with my afrikaans and english friends - therefore they are not just my general opinion on those language groups but also my personal experience with the members (and their personalities) of these groups.
- 306 How is it that language in itself possibly influence whether or not someone cope better in stressful situations – unless the course you were doing was in a different language to your first language it might take you longer to actually get through it. But coping depends on you as an individual and how you deal with stress – blind panic or calm contemplation on what you would do next.
- 308 I think I could have misinterpreted Mc Clark's hypotheses at the beginning, so my answers to the questions on that case study might have been wrong.
- 311 I thought having to rate the different answers was a good idea, however at times it was difficult to choose between the different ratings.
- 314 the questions at the end seemed to be more involved around the business world, rather than people's personal thoughts about different cultures as a whole
- 328 It's too limited in that one man's theory dominated the study. More research has to be done. Perhaps a bigger sample size should be chosen. Actual evaluations of the person's actions should be.
- 342 Surely by checking what each group's opinions are separately you are automatically making a 'division' between them?!? I do not feel the number of people submitted to asylums is a sufficient enough premises to state the conclusion
- 363 It is quite interesting to note the responses gathered by Afrikaans students – it would seem that people that speak Afrikaans could possibly come from smaller areas and not be as exposed to people and situations as English speaking students. Thus the bias lies in the majority of the language, not content.
- 368 I found the hypothesis interesting, it is not something that I have thought about before.
- 369 Yes! I was just wondering if the hypothesis was really the true aim of the experiment because I seriously doubt it!!!
- 371 What exactly is the study about? Why is that last part of the questionnaire included? What does feelings/attitudes towards social equality have to do with stress?
- 372 What about the effects of other cultures and languages within S.A and their link to the level of coping in stressful situations – i.e. Zulu, Xhosa etc?
- 373 I think the topic of research is very interesting and I believe that one's language does limit your understanding of the word from the trivial (ie there are no words for the various character types in Tolkien or other escapist fantasy novels in Afrikaans, they are all adaptation of a single word) to the more serious such as the topic covers.
- 376 Perhaps a comment – Having mainly lived in South Africa, I can only speak of my experiences here: I feel that in this country, language is very strongly linked to culture and cultures here have very strong opinions of one another. So, perhaps it becomes more difficult to remove these biases in South Africa (because of our explosive past). I guess I'm wondering how you remove the bias that (I feel) English speakers tend to have that they are superior to other groups?
- 378 prejudice may be only directed at one group and not another- so be careful using a general test to try discover a person's 'equality position' in general
- 379 If the objective was to see how members of a group view those of the same and other groups and their position in society it won't necessarily be fully portrayed through the analysis of coping with stress.
- 387 No, I feel I understand. Just want to know what the outcome of this study is going to be!!

- 392 why not ask the questions directly targeting why i think your main objective was? Nice way of doing it though
- 397 What are the conclusions
- 398 I don't really see what the benefit of the conclusions drawn will be. If the study is trying to validate a theory- great. But what difference does it make whether a language group can cope better with stress? Knowing this won't really change the fact that different people deal with things differently. What about all the other factors that could influence stress management. How can you prove that it is actually the language that makes the difference and not the cultural background the person is from. There is no denying that Afrikaans is a language with a very strong cultural background and that their coping methods could be related to this.
- 399 I don't agree with the hypothesis that was stated. I feel it is the individuals up-bringing and personality that will affect his stress levels. It is also important to determine whether the stress could have been avoided in the first place if the person knew what was expected of him.
- 400 I expect the results to be kept private, used for research purposes only and not used for commercial gain. Of course, its too late to object to that now, but hopefully you do have a conscience.
- 402 It would be good to know if people of who speak a different language how better coping abilities then English speakers.
- 403 why is only english and afrikaans included? why aren't other factors included as coping mechanisms?
- 406 a lot of the questions or comments we had to evaluate were almost identical, but I felt that they made me respond differently.
- 407 I really hate the way that you have forced people into being classed into "those groups" be it by language, where they come from or what ever else...
- 409 What would the survey be titled in Afrikaans?
- 410 I'm not sure why questions of inferior groups were included in what was essentially a language and stress questionnaire. Possibly there's some connection between language and inferiority that I've missed.
- 411 Why is the stuff in the hand written questionnaire repeated?
- 412 i strongly believe that it is not a specific language that limites/enables a person to cope, but rather their ability to use the language they do speak. A language with a limited vocabulary does not restrict a speaker from expressing themselves clearly and emotionally. People who speak 'better' languages can have very limited vocabularies or communication abilities
- 413 How one copes with stress also depends on how they were brought up and if they have a religious persuasion or not. If a person came from a household where studying was not emphasised then if that person forgets to learn something, its no big deal. However, if you grew up in a household where your parents were interested in you achievement, then if you forgot to learn something you would stress more because you know that you are not going to do as well as you wanted to. Languages are simply means of conveying this stress and personally I don't think that it should affect your stress factor. It is also a nature versus nurture aspect. By nature some people cope with stress better than others, but some cope better due to upbringing. Answering a lot of these questions also depend on the situation and what type of person you think of when answering the question. If you only know friendly Afrikaans people then one would have answered the questions a certain way. Preconceived ideas of people can lead to underlying assumptions and thus to answers.
- 414 Why only Afrikaans and not Xhosa or the more traditional languages. I would be fascinated to see what the results would be with a different cultural background completely. Can we find out the result of the statistical testing once its over- I am very interested to find out whether the languages do play a role in your coping mechanism.
- 415 There is a question that asks whether it would be ideal if all groups were equal, I think it's a bit ambiguous because I believe that all groups are equal, but the question implies they are not by asking whether you agree or not.
- 416 What is this srvey REALLY for? What is the study REALLY about?
- 419 very broad statements are open to different interpretations, which may make answers hard to compare
- 420 How to imporve the questions, and also whether things like socio-economic status and living standards were taken into account when the theory was put forward. Also, what other studies of this nature have been conducted
- 427 this study reminded me of that quote out of alice in wonderland. i was alice this morning before ii jumped

through the looking glass, but i've changed several times today unuuummmmm

- 430 The question regarding the use of force was answered with the force of persuasion being used.
- 431 The study was unusual in that when answering the "degree of agreement" questions I doubted whether my answer was based on what I perceived or what I knew to be true. The coping ability to cope with the stressful situation described at the beginning of the study was relevant to us, as students. I do however believe that ability to cope in that scenario is inherent and not dependant on language group.
- 432 What relevance did the questioning on groups have?
- 434 why would the language you speak determine how well u handle stress. stress is usually in your head and not something which you can talk out of you. even if u could express your frustrations better in one language than another this would not determine or influence your ability to handle stress.
- 435 It would be nice to know how the study turned out i.e. what conclusions were made due to this study.
- 436 nothing, just interested in seeing what the results are, what is the eventual outcome? consensus will be
- 439 What was the aim of the final set of questions? Were you trying to establish whether I would purposefully discredit Afrikaans people in my answers about their ability to cope with stress, because I see some people as inferior to others, or is there more to it?
- 442 Some of the criteria in the "Honesty, Intelligence etc" could possibly have been labelled more prominently (eg. In bold at the top of the page – along with the language). I could imagine that in general, people will be less respectful of the people of the other language. People always seem to be supportive of the group that they are from.
- 443 I would like to see the results and also wonder if it is not so much to do with the amount of expressive words in the language but possibly how often they are used.
- 446 i think that this is bebeficial as know I am aware of the possibilities that may exist regarding stress and coping with it, are there any reasons for our response to it.
- 449 How does belonging to the richer language group (and therefore u are able to describe your feelings in more words) make you cope better with stressful situations? What's the connection?
- 453 In the last section was unsure what was meant by the word "group". Was unsure whether it defined group by race, religion, education or affluence level etc or just a general mix of people.
- 454 If the study was on how english view the Afrikaans people why not just ask us directly? Perhaps a straightforward approach may yield different answers as we would give genuine and straight answers to the questions. Some people may give false answers due to trying to look unbiased but maybe not?
- 461 I think that in the initial description of the study lots of factors were left out that could also play a role in one's ability to cope eg organisational skills, time management and resources available.
- 463 Good luck to the examiner. I hope that this study has been insightful and has assisted her in her research/studies.
- 466 How do the questions about equality and "keeping certain groups in their place" impact on the analysis of how people cope with stress? It certainly is a very interesting study especially because I could never fathom that language usage affects coping skills.
- 467 what about other languages like spanish, french, xhosa? or is this study only valid for english versus afrikaans?
- 470 Most people react more stressfully to situations regardless of what they say. So it doesn't really matter what language they speak
- 476 I think there are other variables involved in coping with stress, not just the language that you speak. For instance, Afrikaans people may have been brought up in such a way that they can cope better in stressful situations.
- 478 if my theory is correct then why was the questioned not posed directly? if my theory is incorrect then why were there so many questions concerning various groups and equality?
- 479 How exactly did the last series of agree/disagree questions relate to the rest? And what is the result of it all...? I'd be very interested to find out.
- 481 I think this study was very cleverly disguised, I just have a feeling that i read a few of the early questions' answer in block back to front by accident
- 485 The study should have maybe contained more opportunity to explain answers given while rating.

Appendix C-18: Numbers (N), Means (M) and standard deviations (S) of different discrimination measures in various conditions of status and SDO

allocation matrices					morality items					competence items				
status	SDO	N	M	S	status	SDO	N	M	S	status	SDO	N	M	S
	low	48	.20	.52		low	48	-2.52	7.05		low	48	1.40	4.62
high	high	48	.06	.52	high	high	48	-.88	6.82	high	high	48	2.29	4.93
	total	96	.13	.52		total	96	-1.70	6.95		total	96	1.84	4.78
	low	49	-.08	.44		low	49	-2.18	6.98		low	49	.78	4.20
low	high	47	-.26	.51	low	high	47	-2.00	6.70	low	high	47	.11	4.25
	total	96	-.17	.48		total	96	-2.09	6.81		total	96	.45	4.22
	low	97	.06	.50		low	97	-2.35	6.98		low	97	1.08	4.40
total	high	95	-.10	.54	total	high	95	-1.43	6.75	total	high	95	1.21	4.72
	total	192	-.02	.53		total	192	-1.90	6.86		total	192	1.15	4.55

Appendix C-19: Means for low and high status groups and F-values for the difference in essay evaluations and trait ratings between low and high status groups

Multivariate Effects (Wilk's Lambda)						
Status		$F_{3,186} = 6.627;$		$p = .000$		
SDO		$F_{3,186} = 2.035;$		$p = .110$		
Status x SDO		$F_{3,186} = .612;$		$p = .608$		
Simple Effects		SS	df	MS	F	p
Status	Allocation matrices	4.38	1	4.38	17.52	.000
	Morality Items	7.45	1	7.45	.16	.692
	Competence items	94.44	1	94.44	4.64	.032
SDO	Allocation matrices	1.20	1	1.20	4.79	.030
	Morality Items	40.16	1	40.16	.85	.359
	Competence items	.62	1	.62	.03	.862
Status x SDO	Allocation matrices	.02	1	.02	.07	.791
	Morality Items	25.65	1	25.65	.54	.463
	Competence items	29.38	1	29.38	1.44	.231
Error	Allocation matrices	47.03	188	.25		
	Morality Items	8922.58	188	47.46		
	Competence items	3824.40	188	20.34		

Appendix C-1: F-values, significance levels and partial η^2 for 2 (SDO level) x 2 (status) ANOVA testing for differences in SDO score changes

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	η^2
SDO	3.24	1	3.24	7.64	.006	.039
Status	.20	1	.20	.47	.494	.002
SDO x Status	.33	1	.33	.78	.379	.004
Error	79.83	188	.42			

Appendix D

- Study 3 -

Appendix D-1: Number of participants per institution and racial self-categorisation

Schools			Hospitals				
	Area	No. of Participants		Area	No. of Participants		
School 1	City Bowl	Black:	0	Hospital 1	Northern Suburbs	Black:	5
		Coloured:	1			Coloured:	22
		White:	7			White:	14
School 2	City Bowl	Black:	11	Hospital 2	Southern Suburbs	Black:	5
		Coloured:	12			Coloured:	8
		White:	0			White:	17
School 3	Southern Suburbs	Black:	0	Hospital 3	Southern Suburbs	Black:	5
		Coloured:	3			Coloured:	10
		White:	0			White:	11
School 4	Cape Flats	Black:	127	Hospital 4	Southern Suburbs	Black:	4
		Coloured:	0			Coloured:	18
		White:	0			White:	1
School 5	Cape Flats	Black:	1	Hospital 5	Southern Suburbs	Black:	1
		Coloured:	87			Coloured:	4
		White:	0			White:	18
School 6	Northern Suburbs	Black:	0	Total:		143	
		Coloured:	6				
		White:	50				
School 7	Northern Suburbs	Black:	0				
		Coloured:	2				
		White:	46				
Total:			353				
University Students			Research Assistants				
		No. of Participants				No. of Participants	
		Black:	3			Black:	111
		Coloured:	11			Coloured:	75
		White:	35			White:	56
		Total:	49			Total:	242

Appendix D-2: Factor loadings of the current social value ascribed to Black South Africans

Current social value items	Factor 1	Factor 2
nutrition	.789	-.255
homes	.799	-.331
health care	.808	-.194
wealth	.810	-.074
status	.797	.145
political power	.404	.831
jobs	.740	.314

Appendix D-3: Factor loadings of the current social value ascribed to Coloured South Africans

Current social value items	Factor
nutrition	.816
homes	.855
health care	.826
wealth	.842
status	.846
political power	.572
jobs	.831

Appendix D-4: Factor loadings of the current social value ascribed to White South Africans

Current social value items	Factor
nutrition	.844
homes	.881
health care	.834
wealth	.866
status	.840
political power	.557
jobs	.834

Appendix D-8: Factor loadings of the ideal social value ascribed to Black South Africans

Ideal social value items	Factor
nutrition	.873
homes	.890
health care	.863
wealth	.883
status	.891
political power	.695
jobs	.857

Appendix D-9: Factor loadings of the ideal social value ascribed to Coloured South Africans

Ideal social value items	Factor
nutrition	.862
homes	.897
health care	.851
wealth	.876
status	.911
political power	.739
jobs	.876

Appendix D-10: Factor loadings of the ideal social value ascribed to White South Africans

Ideal social value items	Factor
nutrition	.879
homes	.911
health care	.855
wealth	.900
status	.905
political power	.783
jobs	.901

Appendix D-5: Factor loadings of the future social value ascribed to Black South Africans

Future social value items	Factor
nutrition	.820
homes	.869
health care	.843
wealth	.867
status	.845
political power	.569
jobs	.815

Appendix D-6: Factor loadings of the future social value ascribed to Coloured South Africans

Future social value items	Factor
nutrition	.824
homes	.855
health care	.854
wealth	.860
status	.836
political power	.690
jobs	.842

Appendix D-7: Factor loadings of the future social value ascribed to White South Africans

Future social value items	Factor
nutrition	.865
homes	.890
health care	.863
wealth	.871
status	.880
political power	.659
jobs	.867

Appendix D-11: Corrected item-total correlations for the current social value ascribed to Black, Coloured and White South Africans

	Black South Africans	Coloured South Africans	White South Africans
nutrition	.675	.733	.759
homes	.679	.778	.803
health care	.700	.742	.748
wealth	.707	.764	.792
status	.704	.777	.772
political power	.316	.478	.468
jobs	.644	.760	.763

Appendix D-12: Corrected item-total correlations for the future social value ascribed to Black, Coloured and White South Africans

	Black South Africans	Coloured South Africans	White South Africans
nutrition	.740	.750	.800
homes	.801	.787	.829
health care	.770	.784	.795
wealth	.801	.798	.809
status	.777	.770	.827
political power	.477	.601	.576
jobs	.742	.777	.815

Appendix D-13: Corrected item-total correlations for the ideal social value ascribed to Black, Coloured and White South Africans

	Black South Africans	Coloured South Africans	White South Africans
nutrition	.818	.807	.828
homes	.841	.850	.872
health care	.804	.792	.798
wealth	.833	.825	.860
status	.845	.871	.865
political power	.613	.663	.716
jobs	.801	.824	.860

Appendix D-14: Internal consistencies of the scales assessing the current, future and ideal social value of Black, Coloured and White South Africans

Current Positive Social Value		Social value of...		
		...Black South Africans	...Coloured South Africans	...White South Africans
Language	English	.87	.92	.89
	Afrikaans	.86	.91	.91
	Xhosa	.81	.87	.91
Race	Black	.85	.88	.89
	Coloured	.87	.93	.90
	White	.86	.90	.83
Future Positive Social Value		Social value of...		
		...Black South Africans	...Coloured South Africans	...White South Africans
Language	English	.92	.94	.92
	Afrikaans	.91	.93	.95
	Xhosa	.89	.87	.90
Race	Black	.90	.88	.91
	Coloured	.92	.94	.94
	White	.90	.94	.93
Ideal Positive Social Value		Social value of...		
		...Black South Africans	...Coloured South Africans	...White South Africans
Language	English	.94	.93	.96
	Afrikaans	.95	.96	.96
	Xhosa	.90	.90	.91
Race	Black	.92	.92	.94
	Coloured	.92	.93	.96
	White	.97	.97	.96

Appendix D-15: Factor loadings for items assessing the attitudes towards Black, Coloured and White South Africans

		Black South Africans	Coloured South Africans	White South Africans
bad mannered	- good mannered	.683	.751	.685
unintelligent	- intelligent	.661	.722	.595
selfish	- unselfish	.611	.684	.606
deceitful/dishonest	honest	.767	.690	.742
close-minded	- open-minded	.693	.661	.579
threatening	- non-threatening	.697	.632	.585
dirty	- clean	.720	.734	.552
unreliable	- reliable	.745	.740	.677

Appendix D-16: Corrected item-total correlations for items assessing the attitudes towards Black, Coloured and White South Africans

		Black South Africans	Coloured South Africans	White South Africans
1. bad mannered	- good mannered	.571	.646	.548
2. unintelligent	- intelligent	.546	.613	.451
3. selfish	- unselfish	.497	.574	.460
4. deceitful/dishonest	honest	.664	.581	.606
5. close-minded	- open-minded	.579	.547	.429
6. threatening	- non-threatening	.585	.521	.435
7. dirty	- clean	.609	.624	.407
8. unreliable	- reliable	.639	.634	.529

Appendix D-17a: Result of principal component analysis including the 16 SDO₆ items

	eigenvalue	explained variance
Factor 1	5.60	35.00
Factor 2	2.73	17.08
Factor 3	1.08	6.75

Appendix D-17b: Factor loadings for SDO items

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	.242	.480	.638
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.	.450	.465	.478
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.	.512	.426	-.050
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	.477	.474	.220
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.	.484	.533	-.181
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.	.590	.425	-.195
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.	.592	.487	-.385
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	.522	.489	-.359
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.	.631	-.342	.103
10. Group equality should be our ideal.	.739	-.325	-.021
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.	.706	-.403	.080
12. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.	.744	-.338	.001
13. Increased social equality.	.742	-.331	.087
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.	.662	-.334	.056
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.	.507	-.390	-.125
16. No one group should dominate in society.	.634	-.259	.038

Appendix D-18: Corrected item-total correlations for the SDO, GBD and OEQ scales

	SDO	GBD	OEQ
1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	.255	.375	
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.	.459	.541	
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.	.491	.547	
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	.475	.565	
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.	.485	.593	
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.	.570	.603	
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.	.579	.632	
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	.512	.577	
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.	.477		.610
10. Group equality should be our ideal.	.590		.725
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.	.548		.720
12. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.	.594		.733
13. Increased social equality.	.601		.739
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.	.514		.639
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.	.351		.525
16. No one group should dominate in society.	.500		.587

Appendix D-19: Gender differences in SDO for Black, Coloured and White participants

Race of subject		gender	N	M	SD	t-statistic	d
Black	SDO ₆	Female	136	2.77	1.03	$t_{271} = 1.71^*$	.28
		Male	137	3.08	1.14		
	GBD	Female	136	3.45	1.40	$t_{271} = 1.19$	.15
		Male	137	3.66	1.48		
	OEQ	Female	136	2.09	1.23	$t_{268.80} = 2.58^*$	.32
		Male	137	2.50	1.36		
Coloured	SDO ₆	Female	138	2.48	1.00	$t_{257} = .92$	.11
		Male	121	2.59	1.05		
	GBD	Female	138	3.13	1.43	$t_{257} = .85$	.02
		Male	121	3.10	1.33		
	OEQ	Female	138	1.82	1.22	$t_{257} = 1.64$	.19
		Male	121	2.08	1.34		
White	SDO ₆	Female	146	2.34	1.08	$t_{210.85} = 3.28^{**}$	.41
		Male	109	2.82	1.27		
	GBD	Female	146	2.49	1.22	$t_{188.70} = 3.59^{**}$	.48
		Male	109	3.17	1.67		
	OEQ	Female	146	2.19	1.22	$t_{253} = 1.81$	.23
		Male	109	2.47	1.26		

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$

N = sample size; M = mean; SD = standard deviation, d = effect size

Average effect size = .26 for males higher than females; .02 for females higher than males

Appendix D-20: Factor loadings of the ingroup identification items

Ingroup identification items	Factor 1	Factor 2
1. I am a person who considers the group of <i>(your choice)</i> important.	0.472	-0.516
2. I am a person who identifies with the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	0.695	-0.405
3. I am a person who feels strong ties with the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	0.676	-0.434
4. I am a person who is glad to belong to the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	0.616	-0.356
5. I am a person who sees myself as belonging to the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	0.689	-0.408
6. I am a person who makes excuses for belonging to the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	0.401	0.582
7. I am a person who tries to hide the belonging to the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	0.546	0.567
8. I am a person who feels held back by the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	0.440	0.561
9. I am a person who is annoyed to say I'm a member of the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	0.598	0.513
10. I am a person who criticises the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	0.502	0.443

Appendix D-21: Corrected item-total correlations (*r*) for the ingroup identification items

Ingroup identification items	<i>r</i>
1. I am a person who considers the group of <i>(your choice)</i> important.	.278
2. I am a person who identifies with the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	.513
3. I am a person who feels strong ties with the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	.486
4. I am a person who is glad to belong to the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	.428
5. I am a person who sees myself as belonging to the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	.495
6. I am a person who makes excuses for belonging to the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	.329
7. I am a person who tries to hide the belonging to the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	.465
8. I am a person who feels held back by the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	.362
9. I am a person who is annoyed to say I'm a member of the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	.512
10. I am a person who criticises the group of <i>(your choice)</i> .	.416

Appendix D-22: Result tables for split plot 3 (participant's race = RACE) \times 3 (race group that current social value is ascribed to = GROUP) ANOVA**Appendix D-22(a): ANOVA summary**

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	η^2
RACE	41.77	2	20.89	14.26	.000	.035
Error	1148.49	784	1.47			
GROUP	1370.639	2	685.32	758.71	.000	.492
GROUP \times RACE	61.71	4	15.43	17.08	.000	.042
Error (GROUP \times RACE)	1416.32	1568	0.90			

Appendix D-22 (b): Simple main effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	η^2
RACE at Black Social Value	54.869	2	27.44	21.19	.000	.021
RACE at Coloured Social Value	18.104	2	9.05	8.01	.000	.007
RACE at White Social Value	30.507	2	15.25	18.01	.000	.012
Within Cell Error	2564.81	2352	2.37			
GROUP at Black	663.793	2	331.90	265.95	.000	.319
GROUP at Coloured	502.120	2	251.06	303.81	.000	.262
GROUP at White	278.843	2	139.42	227.73	.000	.164
Error (GROUP \times RACE)	1416.32	1568	0.90			

Appendix D-22 (c): Pairwise comparisons

Black current social value		mean difference	standard error	p	interval of confidence	d
Black participants	Coloured participants	-.535	.099	.000	-.78 < x < -.29	.438
	White participants	-.573	.099	.000	-.82 < x < -.33	.532
Coloured participants	White participants	-.037	.010	.934	-.28 < x < .21	.035
Coloured current social value						
Black participants	Coloured participants	-.053	.092	.846	-.28 < x < .17	.047
	White participants	.295	.093	.007	.07 < x < .52	.282
Coloured participants	White participants	.348	.094	.001	.12 < x < .58	.351
White current social value						
Black participants	Coloured participants	-.305	.080	.001	-.50 < x < -.11	.312
	White participants	.176	.080	.090	-.02 < x < .37	.186
Coloured participants	White participants	.481	.081	.000	.28 < x < .68	.638
Black participants						
Black social value	Coloured social value	-1.308	.096	.000	-1.50 < x < -1.12	1.094
	White social value	-2.192	.109	.000	-2.41 < x < -1.98	1.839
Coloured social value	White social value	-.883	.079	.000	-1.04 < x < -.73	.752
Coloured participants						
Black social value	Coloured social value	-.826	.078	.000	-.98 < x < -.67	.717
	White social value	-1.961	.088	.000	-2.14 < x < -1.79	1.948
Coloured social value	White social value	-1.135	.073	.000	-1.28 < x < -.99	1.220
White participants						
Black social value	Coloured social value	-.441	.065	.000	-.569 < x < -.313	.477
	White social value	-1.443	.079	.000	-1.60 < x < -1.28	1.735
Coloured social value	White social value	-1.002	.062	.000	-1.12 < x < -.88	1.228

Appendix D-23: Result tables for split plot 3 (participant's race = RACE) \times 3 (race group that future social value is ascribed to = GROUP) ANOVA**Appendix D (a): ANOVA summary**

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	η^2
RACE	77.44	2	36.72	24.02	.000	.058
Error	1264.12	784	1.61			
GROUP	184.12	2	92.06	93.15	.000	.106
GROUP \times RACE	72.58	4	18.14	18.36	.000	.045
Error (GROUP \times RACE)	1549.65	1568	0.99			

Appendix D (b): Simple main effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	η^2
RACE at Black Future Social Value	91.82	2	45.91	34.55	.000	.032
RACE at Coloured Future Social Value	12.20	2	6.10	5.53	.000	.004
RACE at White Future Social Value	46.00	2	23.00	19.88	.000	.016
Within Cell Error	2813.77	2352	1.20			
GROUP at Black	209.13	2	104.56	82.85	.000	.119
GROUP at Coloured	42.31	2	21.16	25.20	.000	.027
GROUP at White	11.62	2	5.81	6.87	.001	.007
Error (GROUP \times race)	1549.65	1568	0.99			

Appendix D (c): Pairwise comparisons

Black future social value		mean difference	standard error	p	interval of confidence	d
Black participants	Coloured participants	-.825	.100	.000	-1.07 < x < -.58	.685
	White participants	-.488	.100	.000	-.73 < x < -.24	.418
Coloured participants	White participants	-.338	.102	.004	-.09 < x < .59	.321
Coloured future social value						
Black participants	Coloured participants	-.169	.091	.181	-.39 < x < .05	.155
	White participants	.139	.091	.317	-.09 < x < .36	.133
Coloured participants	White participants	.308	.093	.004	.08 < x < .53	.306
White future social value						
Black participants	Coloured participants	-.106	.093	.522	-.34 < x < .12	.100
	White participants	.456	.094	.000	.23 < x < .69	.403
Coloured participants	White participants	.563	.095	.000	.33 < x < .80	.564
Black participants						
Black social value	Coloured social value	-.700	.100	.000	-.90 < x < -.50	.571
	White social value	-1.234	.108	.000	-1.45 < x < -1.02	.976
Coloured social value	White social value	-.534	.078	.000	-.69 < x < -.38	.457
Coloured participants						
Black social value	Coloured social value	-.043	.084	.609	-.21 < x < .12	.040
	White social value	-.515	.087	.000	-.69 < x < -.35	.507
Coloured social value	White social value	-.472	.070	.000	-.61 < x < -.33	.475
White participants						
Black social value	Coloured social value	-.073	.066	.269	-.20 < x < -.06	.074
	White social value	-.290	.080	.003	-.48 < x < -.10	.281
Coloured social value	White social value	-.217	.080	.007	-.37 < x < -.06	.215

Appendix D-24: Result tables for split plot 3 (participant's race = RACE) x 3 (race group that ideal social value is ascribed to = GROUP) ANOVA

Appendix D (a): ANOVA summary

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	η^2
RACE	150.28	2	75.14	36.45	.000	.085
Error	1616.38	784	2.06			
GROUP	35.91	2	17.96	23.49	.000	.029
GROUP x RACE	23.86	4	5.97	7.80	.000	.020
Error (GROUP x RACE)	1198.87	1568	0.77			

Appendix D (b): Simple main effects

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	η^2
RACE at Black Ideal Social Value	48.60	2	24.30	17.39	.000	.017
RACE at Coloured Ideal Social Value	48.53	2	24.26	21.51	.000	.017
RACE at White Ideal Social Value	77.02	2	38.51	36.12	.000	.027
Within Cell Error	2815.25	2352	1.20			
GROUP at Black	10.64	2	5.32	4.16	.016	.009
GROUP at Coloured	7.31	2	3.65	6.38	.002	.006
GROUP at White	41.50	2	20.75	50.73	.000	.033
Error (GROUP x RACE)	1198.87	1568	0.77			

Appendix D (c): Pairwise comparisons

Black ideal social value		mean difference	standard error	p	interval of confidence	d
Black participants	Coloured participants	-.525	.103	.000	-.78 < x < -.27	.446
	White participants	-.530	.103	.000	-.77 < x < -.27	.409
Coloured participants	White participants	.005	.104	.999	-.25 < x < .26	.005
Coloured ideal social value						
Black participants	Coloured participants	-.589	.092	.000	-.81 < x < -.36	.574
	White participants	-.406	.092	.000	-.63 < x < -.18	.350
Coloured participants	White participants	.184	.094	.148	-.05 < x < .41	.194
White ideal social value						
Black participants	Coloured participants	-.358	.090	.000	-.58 < x < -.14	.314
	White participants	-.764	.090	.000	-.98 < x < -.54	.752
Coloured participants	White participants	-.406	.091	.000	-.63 < x < -.18	.504
Black participants						
Black social value	Coloured social value	-.173	.091	.058	-.35 < x < .01	.131
	White social value	-.276	.113	.015	-.50 < x < -.05	.200
Coloured social value	White social value	-.103	.084	.219	-.27 < x < .06	.008
Coloured participants						
Black social value	Coloured social value	-.237	.057	.000	-.35 < x < -.13	.269
	White social value	-.109	.072	.129	-.25 < x < .03	.117
Coloured social value	White social value	.128	.069	.067	-.01 < x < .27	.147
White participants						
Black social value	Coloured social value	-.059	.038	.119	-.13 < x < .02	.053
	White social value	-.521	.065	.000	-.65 < x < -.39	.573
Coloured social value	White social value	-.462	.063	.000	-.59 < x < -.34	.523

Appendix D-25a: ANOVA results table for 2 (educational level) x 3 (race) ANOVA

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Race	6.36	2	3.18	3.41	.034	.019
Educational Level	13.61	1	13.61	14.59	.000	.040
Race x Educational Level	2.85	2	1.42	1.53	.219	.009
Error	324.65	348	.93			

Appendix D-25b: Post Hoc Scheffé Tests (Means in brackets)

Race	Black ¹ (2.51) > Coloured ² (2.11)
	Black (2.51) > White ³ (2.08)
	White (2.08) = Coloured (2.11)
Educational level	Without Tertiary Education ⁴ (2.54) > With Tertiary Education ⁵ (2.04)

¹n = 100, ²n = 115, ³n = 139, ⁴n = 236, ⁵n = 118

Appendix D-26: Possible hierarchies between race groups

Black South Africans	=	Coloured South Africans	=	White South Africans
White South Africans	>	Coloured South Africans	>	Black South Africans
White South Africans	>	Coloured South Africans	=	Black South Africans
White South Africans	>	Black South Africans	>	Coloured South Africans
White South Africans	=	Coloured South Africans	>	Black South Africans
White South Africans	=	Black South Africans	>	Coloured South Africans
Coloured South Africans	>	White South Africans	>	Black South Africans
Coloured South Africans	>	Black South Africans	>	White South Africans
Coloured South Africans	>	White South Africans	=	Black South Africans
Coloured South Africans	=	White South Africans	>	Black South Africans
Coloured South Africans	=	Black South Africans	>	White South Africans
Black South Africans	>	Coloured South Africans	>	White South Africans
Black South Africans	>	White South Africans	>	Coloured South Africans
Black South Africans	>	White South Africans	=	Coloured South Africans
Black South Africans	=	Coloured South Africans	>	White South Africans
Black South Africans	=	White South Africans	>	Coloured South Africans

Appendix D-27: Results for 2 (SDO) x 2 (status) x 2 (stability) x 2 (legitimacy) x 2 (identification) ANOVA with ingroup bias as dependent variable

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Status	2.47	1	2.47	2.60	.108	.004
SDO	5.05	1	5.05	5.31	.021	.007
Identification	2.68	1	2.68	2.82	.093	.004
Legitimacy	1.06	1	1.06	1.11	.292	.002
Stability	.35	1	.35	.37	.544	.001
Status x SDO	13.61	1	13.61	14.33	.000	.019
Status x Identification	.97	1	.97	1.02	.313	.001
SDO x Identification	.59	1	.59	.63	.429	.001
Status x SDO x Identification	.22	1	.22	.23	.634	.000
Status x Legitimacy	.42	1	.42	.44	.508	.001
SDO x Legitimacy	.01	1	.01	.01	.940	.000
Status x SDO x Legitimacy	3.99	1	3.99	4.20	.041	.006
Identification x Legitimacy	.09	1	.09	.10	.753	.000
Status x Identification x Legitimacy	.34	1	.34	.36	.549	.000
SDO x Identification x Legitimacy	1.08	1	1.08	1.14	.286	.002
Status x Identification x SDO x Legitimacy	.10	1	.10	.11	.741	.000
Status x Stability	1.75	1	1.75	1.84	.175	.002
SDO x Stability	.45	1	.45	.47	.492	.001
Status x SDO x Stability	.39	1	.39	.41	.523	.001
Identification x Stability	1.29	1	1.29	1.36	.245	.002
Status x Identification x Stability	1.57	1	1.57	1.65	.199	.002
SDO x Identification x Stability	2.07	1	2.07	2.18	.140	.003
Status x SDO x Identification x Stability	.23	1	.23	.24	.626	.000
Legitimacy x Stability	.03	1	.03	.03	.868	.000
Status x Legitimacy x Stability	.71	1	.71	.75	.387	.001
SDO x Legitimacy x Stability	.00	1	.00	.00	.957	.000
Status x SDO x Legitimacy x Stability	.39	1	.39	.41	.524	.001
Identification x Legitimacy x Stability	.42	1	.42	.45	.504	.001
Status x Identification x SDO x Stability	1.48	1	1.48	1.55	.213	.002
SDO x Identification x Stability x Legitimacy	1.23	1	1.23	1.29	.256	.002
Status x Identification x SDO x Stability x Legitimacy	.11	1	.11	.11	.738	.000
Error	698.24	735	.95			

Appendix D-28: Means and standard deviations (in brackets) for 2 (SDO) x 2 (status) x 2 (stability) x 2 (legitimacy) x 2 (identification) ANOVA with ingroup bias as dependent variable

			low status		high status	
			stable	unstable	stable	unstable
low SDO	low identification	legitimate	.34 (.67)	.55 (1.16)	.22 ()	-.31 ()
		illegitimate	.11 (.78)	.53 (.94)	-.29 (.72)	.22 (.84)
	high identification	legitimate	1.09 (1.99)	.92 (1.19)	-.19 ()	.98 (.62)
		illegitimate	.41 (.61)	.31 (.72)	.41 (.63)	.52 (.86)
high SDO	low identification	legitimate	.21 (.75)	.39 (.90)	1.00 (1.44)	1.73 (1.69)
		illegitimate	.27 (1.19)	.52 (1.01)	.32 (.92)	.76 (1.09)
	high identification	legitimate	.70 (1.86)	-.63 (.....)	1.33 (1.26)	1.63 (1.16)
		illegitimate	.67 (1.21)	.28 (1.07)	1.30 (1.06)	1.03 (1.35)

Appendix D-29: Cell sizes for 2 (SDO) x 2 (status) x 2 (stability) x 2 (legitimacy) x 2 (identification) ANOVA with ingroup bias as dependent variable

			low status		high status	
			stable	unstable	stable	unstable
low SDO	low identification	legitimate	10	6	1	1
		illegitimate	24	43	26	34
	high identification	legitimate	2	4	1	5
		illegitimate	56	57	43	71
high SDO	low identification	legitimate	32	7	6	8
		illegitimate	24	79	16	69
	high identification	legitimate	11	1	15	12
		illegitimate	8	30	24	41

Appendix D-30: Results for 2 (OEQ) x 2 (status) x 2 (stability) x 2 (legitimacy) x 2 (identification) ANOVA with ingroup bias as dependent variable

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Status	9.14	1	9.14	9.39	.002	.013
Identification	2.74	1	2.74	2.82	.094	.004
Legitimacy	11.68	1	11.68	12.00	.001	.016
Stability	2.72	1	2.72	2.79	.095	.004
OEQ	.38	1	.38	.39	.534	.001
Status x Identification	.01	1	.01	.01	.914	.000
Status x Legitimacy	4.62	1	4.62	4.75	.030	.006
Identification x Legitimacy	.05	1	.05	.05	.822	.000
Status x Identification x Legitimacy	2.48	1	2.48	2.55	.111	.003
Status x Stability	2.71	1	2.71	2.78	.096	.004
Identification x Stability	5.64	1	5.64	5.80	.016	.008
Status x Identification x Stability	.11	1	.11	.11	.737	.000
Legitimacy x Stability	.16	1	.16	.17	.681	.000
Status x Legitimacy x Stability	1.29	1	1.29	1.32	.250	.002
Identification x Legitimacy x Stability	.18	1	.18	.18	.671	.000
Status x Identification x Legitimacy x Stability	.00	1	.00	.00	.993	.000
Status x OEQ	4.10	1	4.10	4.22	.040	.006
Identification x OEQ	.00	1	.00	.00	.969	.000
Status x Identification x OEQ	1.53	1	1.53	1.57	.210	.002
Legitimacy x OEQ	1.33	1	1.33	1.37	.243	.002
Status x Legitimacy x OEQ	.34	1	.34	.35	.556	.000
Identification x Legitimacy x OEQ	.21	1	.21	.21	.643	.000
Status x Identification x Legitimacy x OEQ	1.02	1	1.02	1.04	.307	.001
Stability x OEQ	.59	1	.59	.60	.438	.001
Status x Stability x OEQ	.16	1	.16	.16	.688	.000
Identification x Status x OEQ	1.29	1	1.29	1.33	.250	.002
Status x Identification x Stability x OEQ	.41	1	.41	.42	.517	.001
Legitimacy x Stability x OEQ	.27	1	.27	.28	.600	.000
Status x Legitimacy x Stability x OEQ	.21	1	.21	.22	.640	.000
Identification x Legitimacy x Stability x OEQ	.74	1	.74	.76	.384	.001
Status x Identification x Stability x Legitimacy x OEQ	1.13	1	1.13	1.16	.282	.002
Error	715.25	735	.97			

Appendix D-31: Results for 2 (GBD) x 2 (status) x 2 (stability) x 2 (legitimacy) x 2 (identification) ANOVA with ingroup bias as the dependent variable

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p	η^2
Status	11.15	1	11.15	11.79	.001	.016
Identification	.86	1	.86	.91	.342	.001
Legitimacy	3.93	1	3.93	4.16	.042	.006
Stability	1.62	1	1.62	1.71	.191	.002
GBD	6.98	1	6.98	7.39	.007	.010
Status x Identification	.47	1	.47	.49	.482	.001
Status x Legitimacy	3.95	1	3.95	4.18	.041	.006
Identification x Legitimacy	1.54	1	1.54	1.63	.203	.002
Status x Identification x Legitimacy	1.86	1	1.86	1.96	.161	.003
Status x Stability	2.17	1	2.17	2.30	.130	.003
Identification x Stability	3.52	1	3.52	3.73	.054	.005
Status x Identification x Stability	.14	1	.14	.14	.705	.000
Legitimacy x Stability	.14	1	.14	.15	.699	.000
Status x Legitimacy x Stability	1.42	1	1.42	1.50	.221	.002
Identification x Legitimacy x Stability	.08	1	.08	.08	.775	.000
Status x Identification x Legitimacy x Stability	.48	1	.48	.50	.478	.001
Status x GBD	5.83	1	5.83	6.16	.013	.008
Identification x GBD	.30	1	.30	.32	.572	.000
Status x Identification x GBD	2.75	1	2.75	2.91	.088	.004
Legitimacy x GBD	.00	1	.00	.00	.961	.000
Status x Legitimacy x GBD	.40	1	.40	.42	.515	.001
Identification x Legitimacy x GBD	.22	1	.22	.23	.628	.000
Status x Identification x Legitimacy x GBD	.74	1	.74	.78	.377	.001
Stability x GBD	2.87	1	2.87	3.03	.082	.004
Status x Stability x GBD	1.07	1	1.07	1.13	.288	.002
Identification x Status x GBD	2.12	1	2.12	2.24	.135	.003
Status x Identification x Stability x GBD	.63	1	.63	.66	.416	.001
Legitimacy x Stability x GBD	.51	1	.51	.54	.462	.001
Status x Legitimacy x Stability x GBD	1.00	1	1.00	1.06	.304	.001
Identification x Legitimacy x Stability x GBD	1.32	1	1.32	1.39	.238	.002
Status x Identification x Stability x Legitimacy x GBD	3.31	1	3.31	3.50	.062	.005
Error	694.72	735	.95			

Appendix D-32: Means and standard deviations (in brackets) for 2 (OEQ) x 2 (status) x 2 (stability) x 2 (legitimacy) x 2 (identification) ANOVA with ingroup bias as dependent variable

			low status		high status	
			stable	unstable	stable	unstable
low SDO	low identification	legitimate	.22 (.38)	.55 (1.16)	.30 (.11)	2.19 (.)
		illegitimate	1.35 (1.48)	.94 (1.46)	.98 (.61)	1.00 (.62)
	high identification	legitimate	.13 (.75)	.59 (1.06)	-.20 (.90)	.36 (.92)
		illegitimate	.44 (.67)	.26 (.79)	.48 (.72)	.46 (.97)
	low identification	legitimate	.25 (.79)	.39 (.90)	1.13 (1.57)	1.42 (1.82)
		illegitimate	.58 (1.92)	.13 (1.06)	1.30 (1.40)	1.74 (1.21)
high SDO	high identification	legitimate	.27 (1.29)	.46 (.91)	.15 (.73)	.70 (1.09)
		illegitimate	.47 (1.02)	.40 (1.00)	1.07 (1.04)	.95 (1.16)

Appendix D-33: Cell sizes for 2 (OEQ) x 2 (status) x 2 (stability) x 2 (legitimacy) x 2 (identification) ANOVA with ingroup bias as dependent variable

			low status		high status	
			stable	unstable	stable	unstable
low SDO	low identification	legitimate	8	6	2	1
		illegitimate	3	3	3	7
	high identification	legitimate	28	59	25	35
		illegitimate	57	64	39	56
high SDO	low identification	legitimate	34	7	5	8
		illegitimate	10	2	13	10
	high identification	legitimate	20	63	17	68
		illegitimate	7	23	28	56

Appendix D-34: Means and standard deviations (in brackets) for 2 (GBD) x 2 (status) x 2 (stability) x 2 (legitimacy) x 2 (identification) ANOVA with ingroup bias as dependent variable

			low status		high status	
			stable	unstable	stable	unstable
low SDO	low identification	legitimate	.22 (.67)	.33 (.98)	.66 (.61)	1.35 (.53)
		illegitimate	.13 (1.83)	.92 (1.19)	.13 (.44)	.68 (.50)
	high identification	legitimate	-.03 (1.01)	.53 (1.06)	-.19 (.72)	.25 (.70)
		illegitimate	.43 (.60)	.30 (.70)	.41 (.65)	.54 (.83)
high SDO	low identification	legitimate	.25 (.75)	.58 (1.05)	.99 (1.61)	1.58 (1.94)
		illegitimate	1.15 (1.78)	-.63 ()	1.40 (1.29)	1.85 (1.06)
	high identification	legitimate	.42 (.96)	.52 (.95)	.24 (1.05)	.78 (1.16)
		illegitimate	.49 (1.02)	.29 (1.02)	1.43 (1.02)	.95 (1.37)

Appendix D-35: Cell sizes for 2 (GBD) x 2 (status) x 2 (stability) x 2 (legitimacy) x 2 (identification) ANOVA with ingroup bias as dependent variable

			low status		high status	
			stable	unstable	stable	unstable
low SDO	low identification	legitimate	12	6	2	3
		illegitimate	5	4	2	6
	high identification	legitimate	25	41	29	38
		illegitimate	50	49	46	67
high SDO	low identification	legitimate	30	7	5	6
		illegitimate	8	1	14	11
	high identification	legitimate	23	81	13	65
		illegitimate	14	38	21	45

Appendix D-36: Results for multiple regression with SDO and ingroup identification as continuous predictor variables, status, legitimacy and stability as categorical predictor variables and ingroup bias as criterion variable

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Intercept	0.16	1	0.16	0.18	0.671
Status	0.01	1	0.01	0.01	0.923
Legitimacy	0.06	1	0.06	0.07	0.794
Stability	0.09	1	0.09	0.10	0.753
SDO	0.18	1	0.18	0.20	0.653
Ingroup Identification	0.14	1	0.14	0.16	0.693
Status x Legitimacy	0.03	1	0.03	0.03	0.857
Status x Stability	0.53	1	0.53	0.60	0.437
Legitimacy x Stability	0.00	1	0.00	0.01	0.941
Status x SDO	0.10	1	0.10	0.11	0.735
Legitimacy x SDO	0.47	1	0.47	0.53	0.468
Stability x SDO	0.26	1	0.26	0.29	0.590
Status x Identification	0.11	1	0.11	0.12	0.729
Legitimacy x Identification	0.06	1	0.06	0.07	0.796
Stability x Identification	0.00	1	0.00	0.00	0.946
SDO x Identification	0.00	1	0.00	0.00	0.976
Status x Legitimacy x Stability	0.91	1	0.91	1.02	0.312
Status x Legitimacy x SDO	0.03	1	0.03	0.03	0.864
Status x Stability x SDO	1.17	1	1.17	1.33	0.249
Legitimacy x Stability x SDO	0.11	1	0.11	0.12	0.730
Status x Legitimacy x Identification	0.18	1	0.18	0.21	0.649
Status x Stability x Identification	0.71	1	0.71	0.80	0.371
Legitimacy x Stability x Identification	0.16	1	0.16	0.18	0.669
Status x SDO x Identification	0.98	1	0.98	1.11	0.292
Legitimacy x SDO x Identification	0.46	1	0.46	0.52	0.472
Stability x SDO x Identification	0.86	1	0.86	0.97	0.324
Status x Legitimacy x Stability x SDO	1.69	1	1.69	1.92	0.167
Status x Legitimacy x Stability x Identification	1.08	1	1.08	1.22	0.269
Status x Legitimacy x SDO x Identification	0.29	1	0.29	0.33	0.565
Status x Stability x SDO x Identification	1.78	1	1.78	2.02	0.156
Legitimacy x Stability x SDO x Identification	0.54	1	0.54	0.61	0.437
Status x Legitimacy x Stability x SDO x Identification	2.17	1	2.17	2.46	0.117
Error	649.97	735	0.88		